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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

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THE IMPERIAL

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Asiatic Quarterly Review,

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1891.

THE REGENERATION OF PERSIA.

II.

Railways for Persia.

In a former article on the Regeneration of Persia,* it was said that, "The subject of Railways and their success in Persia is too intricate and important a subject to be discussed in a few words, and therefore must be left for a future time to be considered in detail." Six months have elapsed since that was written, and it is now time to look into the matter.

It should be borne in mind that railways in Persia must always be considered from a threefold point of view: the political, the commercial, and the geographical, the last of which generally resolves itself into a question of money, but is none the less important on that account; geographical details will, however, as far as possible, be omitted. The views set forth in this article should also be prefaced by the remark, that the writer does not wish the reader to imagine that the routes mentioned are the only ones necessary for the improvement of the country, but merely desires to put before the public the result of eighteen years' study of the question and of the country, combined with the opinions of those most qualified to speak thereon.

* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1890.

The integrity of Persia seems—to those who have studied the East—to be an absolute necessity for the security of our Indian Empire; and this alone is sufficient to demand a most careful examination of the matter, apart from sentimental considerations regarding the political disappearance of a nation; for in spite of all pretensions to extreme philanthropy, Great Britain could never reasonably be expected to prevent the annexation of one country by a powerful neighbour, if she were in no way interested in the transaction; but when John Bull's commercial (not to speak of other) interests are in jeopardy, it is quite a different matter; it then becomes one of imperative importance to impede and prevent this annexation, to ensure the integrity of the country in question, and to do all that is possible to make her,—if not an ally,—at any rate, a friendly neighbour.

Now the Persian Government are fully alive to the consequences of her powerful northern neighbour's propinquity to her, for the gradual swallowing up of Persia's choicest morsels has not taken place unobserved; and as the appetite for more seems to be increasing rather than the reverse, the Government see—or rather have for some time seen—the necessity of doing something vigorous. Their first step was to make a friend of Great Britain; and ever since the British Government have unceasingly pointed out to them, by means of their envoys at Teheran, and most notably by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, the benefit that would accrue to Persia by drawing these ties of friendship still closer. It was pointed out to the Shah that Great Britain had no wish to occupy Irán or even exercise a protectorate; but that her desire was to see Persia flourish, and that the greater the prosperity in the land, the greater would be the satisfaction to the Anglo-Indian Empire.

To stop a great evil, strong measures must be taken. It is not sufficient to prevent annexation temporarily, it must be made permanently impossible; and to attain this end, the country must be regenerated.

As was pointed out six months ago, this regeneration had begun—now what has this interval of time brought forth? First, we have the Imperial Bank of Persia, which was then in its infancy, developed into a large and influential institution, having branches and agencies throughout the Empire, and correspondents all over the world, and doing such extensive business as to render it one of the cogs in the great wheel of finance; further than this, those persons who disbelieved in the possibility of its success, and who said that Persia was too impoverished a country to require or support a State Bank, must be considerably surprised by the report recently issued, which not only shows that a very great amount of business has been done—considering how short a time the Bank has been in full working order—but also that a most respectable and substantial dividend is recommended after placing a sum of six figures (£150,000) to the reserve funds. As was predicted, customs dues have been remitted by the Bank, all large financial transactions are being done through its medium; and, last but not least, deposits have come in, which are steadily increasing in number and amount. The Shah and his Government have fully appreciated the service that the institution has rendered, and is rendering, to the country; and they have done all in their power to facilitate its undertakings and to augment its already well-earned success. Next, we have the Mining Corporation, which has sent out a large number of engineers, many of whom have arrived, and are already promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of the districts in which they are, by employing labour and consequently paying wages; and it may be confidently expected that reports on the mineral deposits will soon be to hand. The construction of the Teheran-Karûn road is in hand, and a large gang of native workmen employed thereon. The engineer in charge reports that the native workmen are satisfactory, and readily learn the way to employ European tools, etc.

These few examples are sufficient to prove that the predictions made six months ago were not the outcome of the imagination of an enthusiast, but the result of careful and

conscientious study; and, moreover, they lead to the conclusion that if they are true in these cases they may—or *should*—be true in others; that *if* the *Regeneration of Persia* has begun, it will continue.

It was, perhaps, wrong to say that this article is to treat of railways, for in reality it will dwell chiefly on roads, which are the precursors of railways. As a child first crawls, then totters, and lastly walks, so, in making the means of communication in a country like Persia, first mule tracks must be constructed, then roads for vehicular traffic, and lastly railways. But in discussing the various roads, it must be borne in mind that ultimately most of them will develop into railways. It may here be added, that it is now an open secret that Persia has decided—at the instigation of Russia—not to construct railways for some years. Although the instigation was not made (as may, under the circumstances, be fairly presumed) in the interest of Persia, nevertheless the Empire will ultimately benefit by it, inasmuch as roads will be constructed without which railways cannot pay; the former are the veins to which the railway system is the heart.

It must not be forgotten that roads are just as much a source of dispute as their metallic successors; and consequently the political aspect of the question of roads is just as important as that of rails. It cannot be disguised that the question is a most difficult one. In considering a scheme of routes in Irán, there are two points of view that can be taken by an Englishman: the one is, to construct only those roads which benefit Great Britain exclusively; and the other, that of constructing all great arteries of communication, regardless of the benefits they may also confer on other nations. The writer inclines to the latter view, and believes that the integrity of Persia would be more likely to be preserved by Persia being a source of advantages alike to Great Britain and Russia, rather than a bone of dispute between them. It is needless to add, that by this arrangement (and it is not really a difficult one to bring about) Persia would be an immense gainer. Again, it is a mistake

to suppose that Russia's gain would necessarily mean Great Britain's loss; it is easy to see many ways in which they might mutually benefit each other.

The most important route of all, and therefore the one that should be constructed first, is that which connects the centre of the Empire with the sea, namely, from Teherân to the Persian Gulf: this would put the heart of the country in touch with the outer world. Twenty years ago Bushire was imagined to be the fittest terminus in the south, but careful consideration has led to the abandonment of this place in favour of Muhamrah on the Karûn, 620 miles from Teherân. As for 120 miles of this distance the river Karûn itself may be used, so that the road from Shushter (above which the river is no longer navigable by cargo boats) to Teherân would only be 500 miles; in other words, 250 miles shorter than the Bushire-Teherân route. This road, which is already in process of construction, and passes through Qom, Sultânabâd, Burûjird, Khorremabâd, Dizfûl to Shushter, will probably be continued later to Muhamrah. As an illustration of the immense advantages which this cart road will offer to commerce, it is only necessary to say that merchandise will easily be conveyed over it from Shushter to Teherân in a week or ten days, whilst a caravan from Bushire to the capital never takes less than 40 days—frequently 80 to 100. It will not only be of immense value to Persian commerce and industry, but it will also greatly benefit India (as well as Great Britain), an important fact that should not be lost sight of. This road will open up the rich and fertile districts between Sultânabâd and Khorremabâd, which grow much wheat and barley. These districts could produce at least tenfold what they do, had they but a means by which to convey their wealth to other places, which the road will provide them with. From Shushter to Muhamrah, only irrigation is necessary—as has before been stated, in the former article—to render the country fertile and flourishing as it was of old. From Burûjird (the centre of a fertile region) a road will be constructed to Isfahân, the

emporium of South and South-eastern Persian commerce, as soon as the main line is completed.

The next roads to be considered—and they are at the present moment under practical consideration—are those connecting Tabrîz with Teherân and the South. Tabrîz is not only the second largest town in Persia, and the capital of the rich province of Azerbâijân, but it is also the seat of the Government of the Vali-ahd (heir to the throne) and therefore of much political importance. Further, its proximity to the Russian frontier renders its position still more important. The road from this place will pass through Miâneh, Zenjân, Qazvîn, on its way to Teherân, the two latter of which are of considerable importance—the former on account of its industries and the latter because of its position, Qazvin being on the road from Enzeli (the port of Rescht) on the Caspian to Teherân, where traffic has existed between Qazvin, and Teherân for some years; and travellers entering Persia by this route perform this section of the journey in post carriages. This road will eventually be a very profitable undertaking, as it will bring not only the produce of the Azerbâijân cultivation, but also the minerals (in which the province is very rich) to the capital more expeditiously and infinitely more economically than would be possible on beasts of burthen; indeed, without it, the mineral wealth of North-west Persia is lost to Teherân. Zenjân is the seat of the metal workers in copper, brass, etc., as also of the workers in gold and silver ornaments and utensils. Tabrîz will be put in connection with the Persian Gulf by a road from Zenjân, on the Teherân-Tabrîz road, through Hamadân (Ecbatana) to Burûjird, on the Teherân-Shushter road, the value of which it is unnecessary to point out in detail, as it will place Tabrîz in direct communication with the Gulf.

The writer is of opinion that roads should also at once be constructed (the question is now under consideration) from Tabrîz to Julfa, the Russian frontier, on the way to Tiflis (a road already exists between the two latter places), and from Tabrîz to Bayazîd, in Asiatic Turkey, on the

way to Trebizond; and it is to be hoped that the Turkish Government will also make a cart road (only a caravan track exists at present) from this post to Bayazid. A most cogent reason exists for this, in that there is already a large import trade which goes by this route in order to escape the prohibitive duties levied by Russia on all goods in transit on the Trans-Caucasian railway; and this trade would be enormously increased if transport were facilitated by a road. Perhaps the next most important artery is that joining Teherân to Baghdâd, passing through Hamadân, Kirmanshâh and Khanakin, on the Turkish frontier. There is already a very considerable trade between Baghdâd and Teherân; and this undertaking would also be profitable on account of the tens of thousands of pilgrims who yearly go to Kerbelá, situate a short distance from Baghdâd, and which, besides being the seat of the chief priest of the Shiahs, also contains the tombs of some of their Imâms.

With regard to this route, it is to be hoped that another scheme—not a new one—will soon be carried out, namely, the line from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, starting from Alexandria and passing through Aleppo, and entering the valley of the Euphrates at Belis, thence following the river along its right bank to Grane (Koreïn) on the Persian Gulf, with a branch at, say, Hillah to Baghdâd. With such a line, the journey from London to India would be accomplished in nine days! If the Turkish Government were to grant a concession for this on as favourable terms as they were disposed to accord about twenty years ago, and also give the concessionnaires the right to reclaim the marsh lands near Busrah, and irrigate some of the dried-up districts through which the line would pass, the undertaking would not only be a very profitable one, but would also be of the greatest benefit to Great Britain, to Turkey, and to Persia. The details of this scheme are too well known to permit of a lengthy discussion of this most weighty question in this article.

Another important route for internal commerce, is that

from Teherân and Shirâz, viâ Qom, Kashân, and Isfahân. Isfahân would next be connected with Yezd, whence there should be two lines, one south through Kirmân to Bender-Abbâs on the Persian Gulf, and the other through Seistan, Dooshak * (in Afghanistân), Kandahar, Cabul, to Peshawur, in the north of the Punjâb.

Teherân should also be joined to Meshhed, viâ Astrabâd, and this line should be continued through Merv to join the Trans-Caspian railway at Bokhara.

Lastly, though not least in importance, Qazvin should be joined to Rescht.

The Teherân-Meshhed-Bokhara railway, which is merely a continuation of the Alexandretta-Baghdâd-Teherân line, would bring a vast quantity of the trade of Central Asia into Persia, as was the case of yore, and would connect Samarkand and Kokand (and ultimately Tashkend) with the Mediterranean—whereas the Isfahân-Seistan-Kandahar-Peshawur line is more political in its character, for it places the north of India in land communication with the Mediterranean, and would therefore be a counter-line to the Trans-Caspian.

The latter line, although it might not be such a great financial success as many of the others above mentioned, would be of immense value alike to Great Britain and to Persia: it would secure the integrity of Persia more than any other route, whilst it would also give a great impetus to the trade of Afghanistan, by which both Persia and India would reap advantages. For the construction of this line there were two schemes enunciated, one to cross the river Helmund west of Dooshak, and again at Girishk, west of Kandahar, while the other alternative was to proceed to India, always keeping south of the river. In either case the marsh, formed by the Helmund in Seistân, should be drained, for the land is beyond belief fertile, and could grow an enormous amount of wheat or other cereals. To drain this large tract of country effectually, it would be necessary to cut a canal of about 100 miles in length,

* Arrowsmith's spelling.

which in its turn would serve to convey the produce of the district to the trunk line, by which it could be transported to Afghanistan, India, Persia, or to the Gulf by the Yezd-Bender-Abbas route. . .

It must here be mentioned that none of the proposed lines offer any serious geographical or engineering difficulties. The writer has not always proposed quite the most direct or shortest routes, in order to submit only those which presented the least difficulties to construct. Great differences of elevation have been avoided; and the average altitude of the system is a little over 4,000 feet, which is about the mean elevation of the Persian plateau (not 2,000, as was, by a printer's error, stated in the former article).

From a careful consideration of the subject it is believed that most of the routes (especially those first treated of) would be a financial success from the beginning, whilst those last mentioned would take time to become profitable.

It cannot be denied that at first the traffic on the lines will not be enormous. Nevertheless, the existing trade along the principal routes mentioned is considerably greater than is generally imagined; indeed, a competent engineer now in Persia is of opinion that the existing traffic would make a railway from Shushter to Teherân a profitable undertaking, while it is only reasonable to suppose that once a line constructed, such traffic would be enormously increased. In obtaining concessions for railways in Persia, capitalists should ask for free grants of Government lands for agricultural purposes. A small outlay in the way of irrigation would give them a handsome return, whilst the Persian Government would reap a profit by light taxation. As a rule, it is difficult to obtain capital here for the construction of railways abroad without a State guarantee; and a guarantee, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, the Persian Government would not give. But it is not improbable that they would countenance a scheme whereby a certain proportion of the custom dues were given over to a railway company. There is a duty of 5 per cent. levied

on all goods imported into and exported from Persia. Now if 20 (or 40) per cent. of this amount were made over to the railway company, there would be a very respectable guarantee to the capitalists; and at the same time the Persian Government would not be losers, inasmuch as 4 (or 3) per cent. on the increased commerce would represent a larger sum than the present 5 per cent. on the existing trade. In order not to interfere with existing treaties, the whole 5 per cent. would have to be levied on the goods, and the proportion,—whatever agreed upon,—be paid over to the railway company after collection by the Government. It is obvious that the railway company should only be allowed to claim this proportion on goods carried over its own line.

There are other circumstances which would facilitate the construction of railways in Irân, namely the existence of any quantity of good stone for "metalling up" the permanent way, of wood for sleepers, and metals, the mines of which, when opened up, will suffice for the requirements of the country without having recourse to importation.

There is one point that must not be overlooked with regard to the feasibility of such schemes, and that is the supposed hostility of the mollahs (priests) to the construction of railways. It is true that in 1872 and the few following years, the mollahs did show a good deal of opposition to such innovation; and this was due to the idea that they would, thereby, considerably lose in influence. The writer regrets that space does not permit him here to go into all the details of this most interesting phase of the question; but suffice it to say that now, after explanations which it has taken years to render unanswerable, the mollahs no longer show the opposition they did, many of them being in favour of thus benefiting their country. The remainder, if not actually desirous of the change, would offer no opposition if it were shown them—as could, and will, be easily done—that they will in no way be prejudicially affected by the introduction of the iron horse.

It has been urged that the scantiness of the population in

the Seistân district is an insuperable obstacle to the success of the Yezd-Seistân-Candahar, etc., scheme; but, on the other hand, some of the greatest authorities on the East have declared that once the marsh of the Helmund drained, and the land thereby restored to its natural fertility, a population would soon flock there, as is always the case where an oasis is made in a desert in Oriental climes.

With regard to all the routes, the reader is cautioned against imagining that they only pass through the towns mentioned. The writer has only mentioned the principal towns, in order not to convert several pages into a string of names; but scores of towns of minor importance could have been mentioned.

The question of opening up Persia by means of roads and railways has always been one of great interest to the British Government; but nothing serious was ever done in the matter until Lord Salisbury took vigorous steps to see some of the schemes carried out. To push his admirable policy in Persia, he had the good fortune to find a most able lieutenant in Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, who not only is most thoroughly acquainted with the situation, but who also possesses, besides his diplomatic *savoir faire*, a profound knowledge of how to treat Orientals; and, indeed, in his *modus agendi* with them he is unsurpassed by any European. His late serious illness has been a misfortune alike to Great Britain and to Persia; but it is to be hoped that, now that he has recovered, he will be able to continue the policy (splendidly conceived and worthy of a page in the history of Great Britain's many glorious attempts to ameliorate the state of the East) which he has so successfully inaugurated. In looking at the question, it must further not be forgotten that to Baron de Reuter more than praise is due, for he was the first to put the whole scheme into a tangible shape, not only by enunciating it, but also by accepting a vast concession and taking the necessary steps to carry it out. Unfortunately, the Government then in power did not see their way to support him—indeed, it was only the late Lord Carnarvon who openly spoke

in favour of the scheme in 1872 3; and, consequently, we must now wait for the future to show us what would have been the result of Baron de Reuter's work, had he been properly supported. *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis;* Lord Salisbury's policy has been of a much broader nature than was that of H. M.'s Government when the original Reuter concession was signed. In spite of rebuffs and obstacles thrown in his path, Baron de Reuter persevered in his purpose for seventeen years, and ultimately accepted the new concession in lieu of the old; it is, however, to be hoped that he will not rest on the laurels of this victory, but that he will still endeavour to carry out his original scheme, or a part of it. And what should induce him to proceed in the matter is, that the Persian Government (from the Shah personally downwards) are most amicably disposed towards him, and have always been much impressed by the forbearing manner in which he acted during the time that relations between them and him were most strained.

This short article is not written so much to show the advantages of "railways for Persia" in detail, as it is to point out one of the methods by which the "Regeneration of Persia" is to be continued. Indeed, there are many other methods which must in their turn be considered and, it is to be hoped, carried out, such as Reforms in the Central Government and in the Provincial Governments, Legal and Financial Reforms, etc.; but space and time do not permit of their being discussed here.

In conclusion, the writer hopes that he has not made the few remarks which he ventures to publish appear as if they were spoken *ex cathedrâ*, or in a dogmatic way, but that he has only expressed *an opinion*, in order to suggest matters and bring them under the notice of those whose consideration of them will lead to the crowning of his hopes—the thorough "Regeneration of Persia."

PERSICUS.

RUSSIA AND NORTHERN ASIA.

In speaking of "Northern Asia," or "Siberia," as it is termed by the Russians, we must understand that we are treating of a vast continent and conglomeration of countries of nearly five million square miles, of a portion of the globe most diversely constituted, and subjected to various and extreme climatic conditions. Ice-bound regions and perilous Tundras alternate under changing skies with flowering meadows and the verdant steppe; man too, like nature, exhibits variety, and bears the stamp of races the most diverse; the transitions which his historic past has undergone are scarcely suspected, but the firmly-established circumstance that the Voguls and Ostyaks, who now live in the far North, are in close philological connexion with the Magyars settled on the Danube and Theiss, south of the Carpathians, alone suffices to astonish us, and to create an interest in the wanderings, history, and past experiences of the present dwellers in "Northern Asia." Another bond of kinship,—a chain of loose and single links, and often severed by the storms and ravages of time,—connects these very North Asiatics with the Finns of North-eastern Europe; and if, at the same time it is taken into consideration that records of relationship exist between the present inhabitants of Siberia's remotest regions and the western half of Asia, it will become the more evident that the ethnical kaleidoscope of the North of Asia contains riddles the most obscure. In most countries of the Old World the historical era reaches back to centuries before Christ; but here the dim light of historical remembrance has only arisen in modern times, and in the pitch-dark past we seek vainly for light-shedding stars to guide us. Con-

jectures only and vague surmises are at our command. We may presume that the country of the Uigurs, which extended from the north-west of China far into the North to the banks of the Ob and Yenisseï, may also have sent a few rays of culture to those distant climes, for the Russian name Ugor or Ugr is really derived from Uigur; but what may have been the precise influence of the Uigurs' rule on the Finnish-Ugrian and Turko-Tartar race elements can hardly be determined. No more light is thrown on the subject by the mention, in Chinese annals, of the departure of the Hiungnu (Huns) towards the West. There is no doubt that in the large army of Attila most of the peoples of Northern Asia were represented. The philological evidence of Magyar shows clearly and conclusively that the amalgamation of people at the Middle Danube and the Theiss consists of descendants of Turks, Voguls, Ostyaks, Syryanes, and Mongols, though the how and the when of this remarkable fusion is shrouded in obscurity. The data that have reached us, in consequence of the intercourse of the Principality of Great Novgorod in the 11th, 12th, and 14th centuries with the nations in the North-east, are equally deficient. The expeditions of Ulyeb (1032), Danslav Lazutnitch (1169), Yadreya (1193), and later Russian generals, into the country of the Yugrians, were merely for the purpose of periodical plunder and rapine, and in accordance with the spirit of the age. They could not lead to any important political or social changes, and were in no case of such significance to Northern Asia as the rise of Jengis Khan, who, like Attila, set in motion, in the distant North, a sea of nations by his world-storming career, and carried some of its waves up to the eastern frontier of Europe.

Taking everything into consideration, we can therefore only fix the 16th century as the period in which, through the successful enterprise of Yermak, Northern Asia first came to have uninterrupted communication with the West, through its representative, Russia; since that period our

information regarding the north of the old mother-continent has constantly increased.

Up to that era Northern Asia from time to time furnished the battle-ground for two rival systems of Asiatic civilization, corresponding to the religions of Buddhism and Islam. Both had undertaken the battle against Shamanism with some success. The teaching of Buddha, under the protection of the Jengisides, had spread to the Buryats, who now live near the Angara; and Islam, starting partly from the middle Volga, and partly from Bokhara, had found adherents as far as the banks of the Tobol. With the appearance, and the eventual establishment, of the Russians, Christianity entered the arena as a third factor of civilization; and though, in the rivalry of these three civilizing agents, victory was on the side of the strictly Asiatic religions, it was yet impossible to prevent the material superiority of the Western invaders from exercising a most remarkable influence on the destiny of people living so completely in a state of nature as those of Northern Asia. Indeed, it was necessary that it should have a similar disintegrating and destructive tendency as is noticed in America, Australia, and everywhere where men of a higher state settle by the side of men of a lower state of culture. Even in its very first appearance, Christian-Western influence was quite distinct from its Moslem and Buddhistic predecessors. The latter vehicles of civilization proceeded with extreme slowness, without energy, but with all the greater self-reliance and confidence in the infallibility of their spiritual operations; the Russians, on the contrary, in the protection of their material strength, advanced uninterruptedly, boldly, and with perseverance on their way towards the East. Yadrinzow * is quite right when he compares Russian immigration into Northern Asia with an army pressing on eastward, which initially advances in compact

* "Sibirien, geographische, ethnographische, und historische." Studien von N. Jadrinzow, bearbeitet und vervollständigt von Dr. Ed. Petri. Jena, 1886. Seite 10.

masses; later on, in lesser numbers, and eventually is completely lost, like a river in the sandy steppe. The Russian national element, though certainly, through indigenous admixture, different from the Russian type of the mother-country, extends at the present day from the Ural to the Tunguska; it is in thick masses in the district between Verchoturje, Troitzk, Tobolsk, and Petropaulowsk, but gradually decreases further towards the East.

The Russians, in the expedition undertaken in the sixteenth century, came into conflict with primitive people who were, with the exception of those who had a varnish of Moslem civilization, of the lowest state of culture, and absolutely defenceless against the invaders. These naturally had to share the fate of their colleagues in America and Australia. The origin of these races was Finnish-Ugrian, Turko-Tartar, Samoyed, Tunguzian, and Mongolian.

The inevitable results of this reciprocal intercourse between primitive people, chiefly engaged in fishing, the chase, and the breeding of cattle, and the Russians, illuminated by a few stray rays of Western civilization, could not but be most unfavourable to the former. Crowded out from the districts more capable of cultivation, plagued and tormented by Government experiments and oppressive taxation, and in addition over-reached in every respect by Russian traders and artisans, the natives were forced to leave the territory in proportion as Russian immigration increased.

The chase did not even yield sufficient return for satisfying the taxes that had to be paid in valuable furs; the breeding of cattle decreased; and though, perhaps, the Russian Government only intended to squeeze out the very utmost from the people, yet physical degeneration and a fearful diminution of the population gradually set in. Several tribes, as the Omoks, Kotts, Khoidans, Shelags, Anjuits, Mators, Assans, Arinzes, and others, have completely disappeared (Petri, 106); and how terrible was the effect of this war of extermination on the other tribes found

scattered here and there may best be gathered from the following statistical figures.

In the year 1744 there were 20,000 Kamchadalians of both sexes; in 1823, 2,760; and in 1850, only 1,951. In the district of Berezow there were, in 1816, 21,000 natives; in 1828, only 19,652; that is, a decrease of 1,349 in twelve years. In the circuit of Tomsk and the district of Narym, 10,135 natives of both sexes were counted in 1816; in 1832, only 9,724. In twenty-two volosts of the circuit Kusnetzk, there were, in the year 1827, 5,160 natives; in the year 1832, 4,399, a diminution of 761. The farther north we proceed the more dreadful is the decrease of population among the natives. Several tribes, like the Voguls and Koibals, are quite on the point of total extinction. The Hungarian traveller Reguly, for instance, estimates the number of Voguls in the year 1845 at 20,000; whilst according to Professor Ahlquist their number in the year 1858 hardly amounted to 6,500 souls; and quite recently even this remnant is said to have decreased, as Rittich gives their number as 4,527 only. It is indeed to be feared that the sad event of the last of the Tasmanians will find a repetition in many a part of Northern Asia.

The indisputable fact regarding the decrease of the indigenous population of Northern Asia, cannot be explained by any absorption into the ruling race.

In the Russian population of Siberia, which at present amounts to two-thirds of the whole population, only a very small percentage of indigenous element can be found absorbed. The increase of the Russian element was chiefly due to voluntary or compulsory immigration; and the natives simply perished, the victims of an overwhelming majority of invaders, of economic conditions, and insufficient foresight on the part of the Government.

We fully approve of the warm patriotism and true love of mankind shown by individual Russian travellers and scholars, whose noble and humane efforts are in the direction of improving the condition of the natives, who are

suffering under the cruel errors and shortcomings of Russian administration—defects which have been so well exposed by Shashkow, Ssokolow, Polyakow, and especially Yadrinzow. Much misery might be mitigated, much misfortune perhaps partly averted; but at present, remembering the similar cases in America and Australia, it seems certain that a complete cure of the evil—that is, a state leading to independent national development, evolving out of itself its own civilization—could never be effected, and would ever remain merely a desideratum of the philanthropist. A cultural transformation on a national basis is only possible with a people whose state of civilization, evolved from or attached to its moral and physical peculiarities, can form a suitable stepping-stone towards the desired change. The justice of this statement is very apparent in the instances of Turkey, India, and Japan; but with a people of the lowest state of culture, under the influence of Shamanism, as is the case with the natives of Northern Asia, such a transformation is quite impossible.

We generally find the opinion prevailing, that Russia, by means of regulating the ratio of taxation, by energetic sanitary measures, and by encouraging settled in contradistinction to nomadic life, might have improved the economic condition of the indigenous population, and could thereby have opened to them the portals of foreign civilization; but in holding this view, it is forgotten that in Asia, more than anywhere else, religion is all-powerful, and is the sole agent through which social changes can be effected.

With regard to this point, Russia was brought face to face with a most difficult problem. It had to enter the lists against two powerful Asiatic religions, namely, Islam and Buddhism—two civilizing agents that are exactly suited to the Asiatic taste and cast of mind, and much more directly reach the goal than Christianity, even than Russian Christianity, which, in spite of its many Asiatic features, still appears to the true Asiatic a foreign and unpalatable production. Knowing this, and fully aware of the bearing

and difficulty of the question, the Russian Government made an attempt in the last century to aid the propagation of Islam, by paying mollas and ordering mosques to be built. This arrangement failed in its object, because, instead of producing the advantages of a vehicle or a stepping-stone towards a further object, or, to be quite clear, instead of forming a suitable Moslem foundation for the future Christian Church, Islam only, as such, was strengthened, and in Islam a force inimical to Western civilization. Thus we find, that whilst, before Russian immigration, Muhammadanism, at the banks of the Tobol, had only just effected an entrance, Russian supremacy very materially aided the spread of this religion. The Tatars of the Baraba Steppe entered the fold of Islam in 1745; that is, one and a half century after this region had come under Russian influence. Of the 142,191 aborigines of the governments of Tobolsk and Tomsk, 47,320 are Muhammadans. Adding to these the 788,000 Siberian Kirgises, also adherents of Islam, we see that the Moslem religion can here register one of its greatest conquests (Petri, 139). With regard to Buddhism the case is similar.

In the year 1741 the majority of Burjates in Eastern Siberia were Shamanists, and the Buddhists only had two Dzazanes and 150 Lamas; in 1845 there were 85,060 Buddhists and 3,546 Lamas; in 1848, 125,000 Buddhists and 4,546 Lâmas; and at present the Burjates are nearly all Buddhists, and Shamanism is quite in the minority. Of the population of 2,792,365 inhabitants of the governments Tobolsk and Tomsk under Irkutsk, there are, at the present day, only 143,262 heathens, or adherents of Shamanism.

In the 18th century the task of converting the indigenous population straightway to Christianity was begun, and in modern times it is continued with still greater energy; but whether, under the existing circumstances, the results will correspond to the expectations of the Russian Government is very doubtful. All possible ways and means were tried to induce people to accept Christianity; force, promises,

and every kind of allurement were used; and when it became apparent that the teaching of Christ in the Russian idiom did not find favour, the experiment was made whether it would be more acceptable in the language of the natives. The Altaic Mission thereupon began to study the Altaic language, and produced a very good primer of that language in Russian; but in spite of prodigious patience, labour, and sacrifice, the results hitherto achieved are of the most modest kind. According to the report of this mission, consisting of twelve missionaries and twenty-two ecclesiastics, nearly 5,000 Teleuts, Shors, Forest-Tartars, etc., have entered the fold of the Greek Church during the last fifty years. The Christianity of these people, however, must not be too closely inquired into. Their apostasy from the ancient creed of their forefathers separates these neophytes from all intercourse with their own kin; and the new mode of life naturally arising from the new doctrine only too often renders their condition one of misery and poverty; they belong neither to one party nor to the other, and in the absence of a basis of belief they generally perish.

A modern Russian traveller writes about the 5,000 Ostyaks whom the Siberian Archbishop Philoteus is said to have baptized in the year 1712, that they are only nominal Christians; the holy pictures in their possession are kept under a bench in some distant corner of their huts; it is only on the arrival of a priest that they are taken from their hiding-place. Rittich is quite right in his assertion that Christianity there is merely like a light covering of moss, hiding the marsh of Shamanism. The converts of other tribes are not very different; those who without forethought have embraced the new religion declare their repentance afterwards. The way a Tshuktsh expressed himself on the point to a missionary is very characteristic: "When I was young the Russians were very friendly to me, and I allowed myself to be baptized; but now I look with different eyes on the past. I look on

it with the eyes of an old man, and I ask what baptism has brought us? The people have become poor, their flocks have decreased; the reindeer perish, and so do the men themselves; old men are hardly to be found, and many have died not as men die. No, let me meet death my own way, and die like a man" (Petri, 149).

Conversion to Christianity, therefore, is not by any means a prevention against the gradual extinction of North Asiatics. The nature of the Slavic educational system is equally unable to afford a remedy.

The opinion advocated by Russian travellers and scholars now is, that success can only be achieved by a process of "russification," or absorption of the indigenous into the Russian national element; it is this process of absorption, they say, which, continued through ages, has given Russia its numerical greatness. From the 8th to the 12th century the Finn-Ugrians—descended from the race of the *Rus* of Arab geographers—formed the important Slavic empire in the East of Europe. Later on, its ranks were swelled by the addition of Turko-Tartar elements; and in the future the process of amalgamation will continue uninterruptedly in the North of Asia.

The difference between the capability of Russian extension in the South-east and North-east consists in the circumstance, that in the former direction the Tshuvashians, Votyaks, and Tcheremises are, to some extent, in a stable social condition, having for centuries departed from their nomadic habits and embraced the Christian religion, so that the slight disintegration necessary for absorption could not readily be effected; in the North and North-east Russia is met by a few, and numerically small, ethnical fragments only, which are absolutely incapable of resistance and independent national vitality. The West, that is European Russia, will scarcely become the scene of extraordinary ethnical transformation; but in the Eastern half, and especially in Siberia, the process of absorption has by no means reached completion.

The present age will accelerate this process and be productive of most remarkable results. The improved communication in the near future by the proposed railway line from the Ural and Turkestan towards Vladivostok, will bring new life, new elements, and new activity into regions hitherto only reached with difficulty; and the native population will be hurried on, with increased swiftness, to their certain doom. For this there is no help and no remedy; and if the present and future influence of our European culture on those regions is to be discussed, the conclusion to which we must arrive will be the following: "The greater portion of Northern Asia will be Russian, not only politically, but also ethnically; our civilization will make its entry in the Russian garb, and Russia will long continue to occupy that post of intermediary between Western and Eastern civilization which it has hitherto occupied."

The same process of amalgamation will take place in Northern Asia as has occurred in the case of America by the intermarriage of the invading Europeans with the aborigines, with only this difference, that the characteristics of the mixed race will not be so strongly marked in Northern Asia as in South America, where, through climatic and geographical conditions, the native element preponderated, and consequently produced distinct local characteristics. The Siberiak or Siberian Russian of to-day, of course, also represents a type special to itself. Shtshapow observes with justice that "the Siberian-Russian population endeavours, to all appearance, to develop, by way of intermarriage, a distinctive provincial type in which the characteristics of the original Slavic and Asiatic Russians are by no means equally represented". (Petri 61). Those circumstances, however, in consequence of which the Russio-Ural-altaic is distinguished from the European-American amalgam must not be forgotten or neglected. First and foremost, the geographical relations in the two cases are very different, in

so far as Russia is and has been in immediate and direct communication with Siberia, and is not separated from it by a long sea distance; this position allows assimilation to proceed much more readily and rapidly.

Secondly, the Russians are by origin a mixed race, consisting of Slavic and Uralaltaic elements. The latter is closely allied to the Siberian indigenous tribes, so that the Russian national traits cannot be in very great contrast with the native Siberian elements. The distinguishing characteristics between Russians proper and Siberiacs will therefore chiefly appear in those physical and moral peculiarities that are caused by special climatic territorial and ethical conditions, and which manifest their influence to a greater or less degree wherever men leave their native country, depart from their ancient usages and customs, and enter on a new manner of life.

Perhaps the most interesting question in connection with the cultural and ethical transformation of Northern Asia arises with regard to the extent over which this process of absorption will spread, and the limits which are likely to confine Russian advance in the North, East, and South of Asia.

With regard to the North, its arctic nature will long defy all cultural experiments. The icy breath of a nine months' winter chills the most fiery zeal and the fiercest glow of enthusiasm; and the extreme unkindness of climate and soil alike will long render it impossible to enrol races like the Tshuktches, Yukagirs, Samoyeds, and Tunguses among the people of Western civilization. The rule of "russification," or Russian cultural influence, will hardly ever extend to the climes inhabited by the Yakuts. The outposts of Russia have remained stationary for nearly two centuries at Yakutsk and other more southern points, without being able to advance farther north; and no one has as yet thought of colonizing the country of that good-natured hunting people the Tunguses, though its mineral wealth occupied the Tshudic races of antiquity. In the

East, favourable geographical conditions will render the future more auspicious, and Russian cultural influence may here, on the banks of the Amur, and in the Primorsky district, call into life that process of colonization and those cultural centres which it has created during the last two centuries in Western Siberia. The plan of connecting the east coast of Mandshuria and the interior of the empire by a railway line lends colour to such an opinion; only the circumstance must not be overlooked that Russia, in its expansion in Western and Central Siberia, did not meet with a political adversary worthy of mention, and could advance slowly but surely. In the extreme East, however, progress is rendered considerably more difficult by the enmity of China: which is just undergoing the era of political and national awakening, and which will by no means continue the former complaisant and sleepy neighbour. The times are now finally over, when General Muraview, in 1855, acquired by strategem and bribery the left bank of the Amur, and when Ignatiew, in 1860, wrested the east coast of Mandshuria from the Chinese, then weakened by the Taeping revolution and the Anglo-French war. The Chinese unfold to-day quite a respectable defensive power; in Mandshuria they are erecting military strongholds, and furnish them with modern European ordnance; and as here the watchfulness and energy of China will rather increase than the contrary, Russian colonization under the best circumstances may confine itself only to that territory which, joined on to Eastern Siberia, has, as far as the forty-fifth degree of latitude, actually passed into their possession, as a further expansion of Russian rule at the expense of China is hardly conceivable. The ethnical element, moreover, shows much greater exclusiveness here than in Western and Central Siberia. Mandshuria is to-day only a geographical notion, as amongst a population of twenty millions there are only one million Mandshus, whilst the rest are Chinese and Koreans. The warlike tribe of the Mandshus cares to know as little of Russian culture as the

Chinese themselves; both look upon the Russian as a barbarian, and deem their own culture higher than that of their hated neighbour.

However much, therefore, one may speak of the thunder-storm about to discharge itself over Northern China, and in spite of Russian delusion that flatters itself in the *rôle* of a future Nurhatshu (the Mandshu conqueror of China) or Jengis; yet if the inquirer judge the matter objectively, and take into account the new position of affairs, he will be impressed by the conviction that even the apparent omnipotence of the Russian Colossus has its limits, and that, though the stream of Russian immigration, carried forward by the aids of modern culture, will continue to roll on undisturbedly in an easterly direction over the old part of the continent, it will by no means acquire extraordinary dimensions.

We must arrive at similar conclusions if we examine the chances of a Russian expansion towards the South, with special reference to a violent conflict with the Mongol race. The Russians did not hitherto succeed with their process of absorption in the great Kirghise Steppe, and they can much less succeed in the regions between Dzugaria and the Chingan range, inhabited by Mongols.

That pastoral people has lost a good deal of its former warlike nature by the acceptation of Buddhism; and in consequence of this creed, penetrated as it is with the strictly Asiatic spirit, the Mongols are less lively, less active, more conservative, and more unmoved by the influence of foreign culture than the Kirghise. Very little or nothing has reached these Mongolian inhabitants of the steppe from Nertchinsk, Seleginsk, and Irkutsk, the outposts of the Russian cultural world at the Mongol northern frontier; whilst from the opposite direction, that is, the neighbouring southern cultural world, with its Chinese influences, quite considerable traces of foreign civilization have remained. From the point of view of relationship in religion and the reciprocal intercourse of several centuries, this is quite

natural; but it is equally natural to suppose that also in the future the same factors will lead to equal results: that is, Chinese influence will always preponderate on the Mongol steppe, and counteract Russian influence; for this reason also, the Khalkaas, Dorbuts, Urangites, and Torguts always prefer, in political relations, to turn to Peking rather than to St. Petersburg. And this is the case in spite of all the periodical accounts of Russian travellers, in which they speak of the ardent love and the steadfast attachment of the Mongols to the white khan at the Neva. In the case of the settled portion of the Mongol race—I refer to the Buryates, estimated at 208,000, living in Transbaikal, in the Government district of Irkutsk—the Russians flatter themselves to have achieved greater success, as the hardworking and clever little nation distinguishes itself in industries and agriculture, and in some special instances shows a remarkable adaptability with regard to Russian instructions. The Russian system of conversion can also show some results here; but it seems to us a vain self-delusion to draw arguments from a few individual instances in support of the future transformation of the whole people. Just as the Muhammadans of the Caucasus, in spite of the apostasy of a few chiefs who had been educated in Russian schools, will long preserve their attachment to Islam and Persia, so also the tractableness of a few Buryates cannot by a long way be considered as an indication of the whole Buryate people desiring assimilation. Buddhism has struck its roots far too deep, the habits of life and the genius of the people are chained too strongly to China and Tibet, to make it possible and allowable to think of a separation from the old order that has become part of the flesh and the blood of the nation. Where the teaching of Buddha or Muhammad has once established its dominion, Christianity, and with it the culture of the West, will only find a difficult entrance.

Summing up what we have said about Northern Asia, the final result of our reflections will be, that the northern half of the old continent—inasmuch as it is primarily an

exclusive domain of Russian-European cultural influence—can only be affected by the rays of Western culture through the medium of the Slavic race, and that it is progressing towards a more auspicious future as far as geographical conditions will allow it. The stream of present Russian immigration flowing from the Ural to the East coast of Mandshuria, will, by reason of gradual absorption further on, be constantly on the increase, but, as has been pointed out in passages touching upon the matter, without being able to enlarge to an extraordinary degree the chain of Russian national elements, which protrude like islands in the midst of the sea of foreign nations. The causes which were active at the rise and former development of the empire of the Czar have, it is true, come to their conclusion in Europe, and not in Northern Asia, where some factors in the displacement of nationalities, and in the sphere of power of a higher culture, still produce their effects; but, just as in Europe political constellations, and the active awakening of national feeling, formed a barrier to the enlargement of a race element at the cost of another, so also in Asia the constant aggression of our culture and policy of conquest has produced to some extent a similar effect. Russian ambition and Russian growth can, at present, in the most favourable case, only find its nourishment among primitive nations professing beliefs outside the two ruling religions of Asia; and as the number of the latter is too small and unimportant, one may well venture upon the assertion that the Russian Colossus, having arrived in both parts of the world at the utmost limits of its extensive capabilities, it can only increase *intensively*, and acquire strength and vigour, but it will require a long, very long, time to fill the contours of that body which to-day seems to us so imposing and powerful.

A. Vambéry.

OUR RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN, PAST AND PRESENT.

I.

For some months past occasional paragraphs in our leading newspapers have informed the public—obscurely enough to be sure—that the character of the official correspondence between the Viceroy of India and the Amir Abdurrahman was not of that amicable and accommodating nature which we should desire, and which indeed we are entitled to expect in return for the many marks of favour and the very substantial support that have been bestowed by the Government of India upon the said Amir during the past decade. In fact, the general drift of newspaper reports went to show that the diplomatic relations between the Amir of Afghanistan and the Viceroy of India had latterly become strained to a degree—to say the least—verging on inconvenience, and much exceeding the usual tension to which the Indian Foreign Office, apparently as a matter of course, has so long been accustomed to experience in their dealings with this Afghan ruler of their own choice and preferment. These evidences of the growing difficulties that have exercised, more or less acutely from time to time, the anxiety of the Government of India in their diplomatic relations with the Amir Abdurrahman, have recently received singular corroboration from the tenor of a remarkable article on "Our Diplomatic Relations with the Amir of Afghanistan," which appeared in *The Times* of the 19th of August last. This article, as well as a preceding one referred to in it, evidently bears the stamp of authenticity; and both the articles—apart altogether from the object they are meant to serve—are deserving of very careful con-

sideration, not to say of critical examination, because—to instance one reason only—of the frank acknowledgment, in more than a single passage, of the failure of the Government of India to obtain from the astute Amir any return at all commensurate with the very large expenditure of money from the revenues of India that has already been incurred in their dealings with him, and which expenditure it is now proposed to increase—the antecedent experience notwithstanding—with the avowed object of improving those relations. Considering the great importance of this subject and the magnitude of the interests at stake, the occasion seems to present a suitable opportunity to place before the reader a review of the course of diplomatic relations between the Indian Government and the Rulers of Afghanistan, both prior and subsequent to the establishment of the Amir Abdurrahman in the rule over that country, in order to enable him to judge aright as to the issue that may reasonably be expected from the character of the policy heretofore pursued in regard to the affairs of Afghanistan. The earlier part of the British dealings with the Afghans is now matter of history, and requires here no more than a passing allusion to the more important events in the long chain of diplomacy, ending in war, that extends from the first years of the present century to nigh its middle. The terror inspired in the minds of the Directors of the East India Company towards the close of the last century by the reported designs of Napoleon against the British power in India, and the alarms at the same period disturbing the equanimity of the people of India by the threatened invasions of Shah Zaman, led to the despatch of the magnificently equipped Missions of Malcolm to Persia and that of Elphinstone to Afghanistan. The Missions of both, however meagre the diplomatic results of their respective errands, proved eminently successful in the acquisition of a vast and varied store of information relating to the two countries they separately dealt with—information so well digested and arranged that little room has been left for

amplification or correction by subsequent closer contact and more intimate acquaintance, except in matters of detail.

The good work thus achieved dissipated at once the veil of ignorance that had previously hung over both Persia and Afghanistan, and brought to light the character and nature of their respective peoples, climates, productions, physical features, etc. All which was good enough and most useful in its way, and perhaps well worth the great expenditure lavished upon these Missions; but neither Mission effected anything useful or advantageous to British interests in a diplomatic sense. On the contrary rather, Malcolm's endeavours to stir up the Persians against the Afghans by way of diverting Shah Zaman from his ambitious projects against Hindustan—at that time overrun by the Mahrattah—produced no other effect than to establish more firmly than ever in the mind of the Persians the conviction of their national right to the whole of the Khorasan country that was formerly included within the empire of the preceding Saffavi dynasty, at the time of its overthrow by the Ghilzie invasion from Kandahar and usurpation of Nadir; that is to say, the whole region of what is now called Western Afghanistan, as far eastward as Ghazni, or even Kabul itself. And this is a claim which the successive Shahs of Persia have persistently maintained—though with more or less of emphasis and scope according to the circumstances of the moment—much to the disturbance of quiet in the Afghan States, and much also to the complication of affairs between the Indian Government, or rather British diplomatists, and the Persian and Afghan rulers on various occasions in the past.

As to Elphinstone's Mission, it proceeded no farther into Afghanistan than Peshawar, where it was hospitably enter tained by Shah Shuja'. But what negotiations could be thought of with a sovereign who could barely hold his own against home rivals? And who was indeed shortly afterwards (1809) driven from his throne and country an unhappy, friendless wanderer; first a refugee with the Sikh

chieftain, Ranjit Singh, by whom he was despoiled of his precious jewel, the historical Kohi Nur, now a shining light in the British diadem; and then (1815) a refugee with the East India Company, by whom he was granted a safe and peaceful asylum at Ludianah, where he lived in obscurity for many years on the bounty of the Court of Directors, until at last the fateful current of events brought him forth from his retreat, first to venture on the recovery of his lost kingdom, and then to figure as the plaything and puppet in that most remarkable military adventure in which he perished miserably and his dynasty with him.

The increasing strength of the Sikh nation, the rapidly progressive encroachments of Ranjit Singh upon the Afghan territory during the long years of anarchy in Afghanistan under the rule of Shah Mahmud, and the internal weakness produced by the split up of the country (1818) into independent chiefships by the now dominant Barakzai—Herat alone with Mahmud as king remaining as the last relic of the dissolved Saddozai monarchy—together with the activity of intrigue with Persia and Russia resulting from such a state of affairs, all these circumstances gave to the British protectors of Shah Shuja' sufficient reason to entertain with favour the exiled monarch's projects for the recovery of his throne and the re-establishment of his kingdom.

Accordingly, in January, 1833, Shah Shuja', with the countenance and good-will of his patrons, set out with an army raised in India to recover his lost power. He proceeded leisurely by the Shikarpur and Bholan route to Kandahar; but was there, in the following spring (1834), confronted and signally defeated, with the loss of everything but his life (which he saved by precipitate flight), by Dost Muhammad Khan, who, on the successful revolt of the Barakzai against Mahmud, had established himself as ruler at Kabul. Shah Shuja', through the friendly aid of the Khan of Kelat, was enabled to return to his former asylum at Ludianah, and there again became the recipient of the

Honourable Company's bounty, and once more, for a time at least, lapsed into the obscurity of a broken-down exile's retreat; whilst Dost Muhammad, covered with glory by his victory over the Saddozai sovereign, marched back in triumph to Kabul, where he established his authority on the secure basis of a people's suffrage, and at once became acknowledged as the leading chieftain in Afghanistan with the title of Amir, not only by his own Barakzai tribe but by the numerous and powerful Ghilzie also—in fact by all Afghanistan, excepting only Herat, which held out as an independent Saddozai kingdom under Mahmud. The prominent position now attained in Afghanistan by Amir Dost Muhammad Khan excited in his mind the ambition to extend his authority over the other adjacent provinces previously ruled by the Saddozai—to Peshawar and Kashmir, both at this time held by the Sikh; but he felt himself unequal to the task without the support of external aid and alliance; and it was at this juncture (1834) that Burnes was despatched on his Mission to Kabul. The British Envoy's negotiations with the Kabul Amir did not, however, make much or satisfactory progress. Because, apparently, he required many concessions of the Barakzai chieftain, whilst in return he could hold out no prospect of the Honourable Company acceding to the earnest desire of the Amir for a friendly alliance and aid or countenance in his cherished project for the recovery of Peshawar. But be this as it may, it is clear enough that Dost Muhammad, however great may have been his anxiety to secure the friendship of the British and their recognition of his claim to Peshawar, did not consider himself dependent solely on their good-will or pleasure. He had in fact more strings to his bow than our Envoy gave him credit for, and at the very time of Burnes' arrival in his capital was in communication with the Court of Persia, and apparently also with the Russian Government; for in the midst of his conferences with the British Envoy he received and entertained at Kabul the Russian Emissary, Viteovitch. The appearance

of this personage on the scene put an end to the British Envoy's Mission; and Burnes left Kabul with a barren issue, so far as his immediate business was concerned; but his mission led to consequences pregnant with disaster alike to the Court to which he had been accredited and to the Government which he there represented.

Dost Muhammad—although he had committed no fault against the British, nor indeed given them any just cause of offence—now became the *bête noire* of the Government of India. But the appearance of a real live Russian Emissary at Kabul, and the reception accorded him as an honoured guest by the Ruler of the country—albeit not so honourably received nor so hospitably entertained as the English Envoy—was as a veritable bogie to the Foreign Department of the Government of India, where seemingly ignorance prevailed as crass at that time as at any subsequent period. Consequently the Amir Dost Muhammad was considered to be a ruler in whom the Government of India not only could place no reliance as a friendly neighbour, but also in whom they had a probable enemy; and it was declared to be expedient, as a precautionary measure necessitated by the exigencies of the situation, that he should be deposed and replaced by one more amenable to British influence, if not more devoted to British interests. And so it came about that the Government of India, under the administration of Lord Aucland, resolved to utilize their effete old pensioner at Ludianah, the Shah Shuja', and to restore him to "the throne of his ancestors."

Shah Shuja' was the second son of the Shah Tymûr, under whose extravagant and voluptuous reign of twenty years the Afghan kingdom founded by his father, Ahmad Shah Abdali, gradually fell to pieces, and, losing all the external provinces, became confined to the home-country extending from Peshawar to Herat, with Kandahar to the south and Kabul to the north. On the death of Tymûr, his eldest son Zaman became Shah, who, after a reign of

four years or so, was ousted and blinded by his half brother (by a different mother) Mahmúd. This last was in turn attacked, captured, and imprisoned by Zaman's full brother (by the same mother) Shuja', who was at that time Governor of Kandahar. Shuja' then became Shah, but he did not long enjoy the kingdom, for his Wazir Fattah Khan, Barakzai, in revenge for the execution of his father, the Wazir Paindah Khan, by Shah Zaman, released Mahmud from prison at Kabul and set him up as Shah (1809) during the absence of Shah Shuja' at Peshawar, where Elphinstone's Mission was at that time located.

Shah Shuja' at once marched towards Kabul, but being defeated on the road fled to the neighbouring Pathan Hills, whence, after various hardships and adventures as a friendless wanderer, he found his way to Lahore and sought refuge with Ranjit Singh, the Sikh Maharajah, with the result already mentioned. Having effected his escape from Lahore, Shuja' fled to the Chamba Hills, and thence found his way by Subathu to Ludianah, where he threw himself on the mercy of the British, as has also been mentioned in a previous passage. From this retreat, with the encouragement of his hosts, he made a futile attempt to recover his lost kingdom, which he had possessed but for a brief four or five years of unremittingly disturbed rule—his rival, Mahmúd, at the time reigning as independent king at Herat, and the usurping Barakzai governing as independent chiefs at Kandahar and Kabul. He made his essay by way of Kandahar, of which province he had been governor under the reign of his father the Shah Tymur; but being defeated and put to flight there by Dost Muhammad Khan, he again returned to his previous asylum at Ludianah. And from this retreat he was now, in 1837, drawn forth by the Government of India to be restored to "the throne of his ancestors," as the lawful sovereign of Afghanistan and the trusted ally of the British Government. At this time the river Satlaj formed the boundary between British India and the Panjab, held

by the Sikh people. Consequently it became necessary to arrange with the Sikh Maharajah for a safe transit through his territories; and the Tripartite Treaty, between the Company, Ranjit, and Shuja', was the result.

The way thus prepared, our *protégé* was escorted to his native country by a British army of 25,000 men (of whom 6,000 were Shah's troops, raised and equipped in India, and commanded by British officers, whom the Government had permitted to enter the Shah's service), and about 60,000 camp-followers, with over 50,000 camels, besides bullocks and other baggage animals innumerable. Shah Shuja' was installed in his kingdom, first at Kandahar and then at Kabul—the two extremes of his sovereignty, or what remained of it—under the ægis of the same protecting arm; or, as the State papers of the day put it, he was seated on the throne of his ancestors as sovereign of the Durrani Empire amid the acclamations of his subjects. Medals were struck to commemorate the glorious event, and the Order of the Durrani Empire was created to reward, on the part of the restored monarch, the meritorious soldiers by whose military skill, daring, and prowess the stupendous obstacles of mountain fastnesses and desert plains, the guerilla attacks of native banditti, the organized defence of fortresses vaunted impregnable and passes proverbially impassable, the hardships of the march through intervening foreign States and principalities,—across large rivers, arid deserts, through dark defiles and over mountain heights,—and finally the vicissitudes of climate in the various regions traversed of low and high altitude, of hot and cold temperature, were all alike overcome, mastered, and endured with a success, a courage, and a fortitude reflecting the very highest honour on the military leaders under whose command these distant exploits were achieved, no less than on the troops by whom they were performed. Indeed, amidst the contempt and reprobation of the policy that led to this military expedition, the disgust and mortification provoked by the subsequent political

mismanagement of the Shah's affairs, and the humiliation and sorrow caused by the final catastrophe, the mind rests with gratification and pride on one consolatory feature of the enterprise—upon the conduct of the military operations, among which the passage of the Bholan and Khybar Passes, and the storm and, capture of Ghazni were in themselves achievements of which any army might be justly proud.

Shah Shuja' was thus established once more on his throne. But the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, who, on the Shah's approach to Kabul with his British supporters, had fled thence to Bukhara, was still at large and might it was thought renew the war; it became necessary therefore to retain the British troops in Afghanistan to support the king who had re-ascended the throne of his ancestors amidst the acclamations of his subjects, at least until he had raised an army of his own countrymen in addition to the force he had brought from India. This work progressed apace; regiments of horse and foot were raised, equipped, and commanded by British officers, who were permitted by their Government to enter the service of the Shah; and when the deposed Amir, the fugitive Dost Muhammad, suddenly, on the 4th November, 1840, came to Kabul unattended, and surrendered himself unconditionally to Sir William McNaghten, the British Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shuja', the force had attained proportions ample for the maintenance of the Shah in his own kingdom, without the continued presence of the British troops; and when, moreover, Dost Muhammed was shortly afterwards deported a State prisoner to India (at the close of 1840), there remained no valid reason for further detention of the British troops in Afghanistan, more especially as these troops were wanted nearer home to meet threatened contingencies in the Panjab, owing to the state of anarchy into which that country had fallen after the death of Ranjit Singh, which occurred during the course of our proceedings in Afghanistan.

Indeed, it was at this time generally expected that the British army of occupation in Afghanistan would be at once recalled to India; and doubtless it would have been the wisest and happiest policy had it been marched back at the same time that Dost Muhammad was deported. Because, other considerations apart, the service in Afghanistan had for some time past become very unpopular both amongst officers and men, European and native (excepting only a few who held lucrative appointments and had comfortably settled themselves), owing to the disturbed state of the country, the savage character of the people, and the long absence from home. But the conflicting views regarding the disposal of Herat, which had long exercised the Politicals, and the false position from the very first taken up by our Envoy in regard to the Shah's government of his own kingdom—the usurpation in fact of his sovereign authority—compelled Sir W. McNaghten to insist on the retention of the British troops—nay, even to call for the despatch of reinforcements—without whose presence indeed his own position was entirely untenable.

Had the Government of India been content with having set Shah Shuja' on his throne and leaving him to rule his people according to Afghan custom or national usage, had they withdrawn their troops, and perhaps most of their Politicals as well, after the surrender of Dost Muhammad, there is good ground for the belief that the Shah would have been able easily to maintain his position, especially if assisted with a treaty of amity and an annual subsidy. But the ambitious spirit of the Politicals, the wild schemes running in their heads, and the exaggerated notions they entertained of impending Russian aggression and Persian intrigue, blinded their judgment as to the real nature of the situation in Afghanistan (with the Panjab an independent country between our frontier in India and the Shah's kingdom); whilst the activity of interference in Afghan home and domestic affairs by the host of Political agents that overspread the country, were all facts that in

no way conspired to the realization of the Shah's very natural desire to manage his own affairs himself. In fact, their mere presence in the country when no longer required was nugatory of the Shah's kingly authority and influence; whilst their supervision and control of his sovereign rights lowered his dignity and deprived him of both the esteem and the confidence of his people.

That the Shah Shuja' himself at this period earnestly desired to assume the unfettered government of his own people was made manifest by his repeated remonstrances against the domineering acts of the Envoy; but for his disgust and displeasure at such interference with his kingly rights he had no remedy. He could show his vexation and dissatisfaction only by periodical fits of the sulks, and by repeated warnings to the Envoy that his manner of dealing with recusant chiefs and questions of tribal administration could end only in rebellion and disaster—warnings truly prophetic and to be fulfilled but too soon and sorrowfully. Indeed, so galling and humiliating did Shah Shuja' feel the position he occupied under the tutelage of the British Envoy, that it was seriously believed by many on the spot that he could not but be our secret enemy, and at all events that he was cognisant of, if not a promoter of, the successive tribal revolts that so long kept detachments of our troops employed in the field both in Kabul and Kandahar. In fact, Shah Shuja' expressed his feelings of dissatisfaction at the prolonged stay of the British officials and troops in his country so plainly and so frequently that even his best friends and well-wishers among our people at times suspected his loyalty. Even the Envoy himself had begun to tire of the entanglement of his position, and only a month or two before matters came to a crisis, had accepted the post of Governor of Bombay, only too glad at the prospect of quitting the country. But it was fated otherwise; and the affairs he had conducted to their present state of confusion he was destined to continue, to his own death and our discom-

fiture. The discontent of the Afghan people at our continued presence and dominant position over their king rapidly spread all over the country and finally burst out in open rebellion. The outbreak of this smouldering volcano was bound to take place sooner or later; but it was suddenly brought about and precipitated by the injudicious reduction by our Envoy of certain allowances made by the Shah on his first arrival at Kabul to (amongst others) the chiefs of the Eastern Ghilzie, through whose territory our communication with Peshawar and India was carried on; and their first act of reprisal was to cut off our post and close the road against us. This occurred in the beginning of October, 1841; and now was displayed in its full extent the nature of the relative positions occupied by the Shah and our Envoy in regard to the people of the country. It is a long and doleful story, but we may well dismiss it in a few words. It was not the king who now dealt with his own refractory countrymen and subjects, either to reason them back to allegiance and peaceable behaviour or to coerce them to obedience and submission. It was the foreigner, the British Envoy, who now—as a matter of course considering the position he had from the first assumed in regard to the control of the Shah's home affairs—took upon himself the hazardous task of negotiating with an outraged and enraged people.

A detachment of British troops was sent from Kabul to clear the road through the revolted Ghilzie country to Jalalabad. It was presently forced to seize that town itself; and there it held out with heroic courage and fortitude till the arrival of our avenging army. But unhappily it was not in this Ghilzie country alone that rebellion was rife. In the city of Kabul itself mischief had long been brewing, and so secretly, that not a breath of it had reached our Politicals. On the 2nd of November the city rose in revolt, and as a first act set fire to the houses of Sir Alexander Burnes (the Envoy designate in succession to Sir William McNaghten) and other British officers who

resided within the walls. Immediately the Envoy and General met in Council, and forthwith informed the Shah (in the Bala Hissar) of the orders they had issued. But the revolt in the city grew apace, Burnes and several others had been slain, and presently the rebels besieged our troops in their entrenched cantonment. To add to the difficulties of the situation, differences arose between the political officers,—whose mismanagement had brought about these disturbances, and who now required extraordinary and perilous action on the part of the troops,—and the military authorities, who best knew what their men could undertake, and declined to throw away the lives of their men uselessly in the narrow alleys of a crowded city. It must be confessed, however, that the British General was at this critical moment almost a bed-ridden cripple, and altogether incapacitated for active exertion or energetic action, mental or bodily, owing to long-continued ill health; and, moreover, that the morale of the troops—from whatever cause—had very sensibly deteriorated during their long cantonment at Kabul. This was forcibly exemplified in the several sallies made from their entrenched position to drive out the besiegers from the adjacent forts and enclosures that contained our Commissariat stores, etc.; and consequently General Elphinstone (who, with a foresight of the military situation not to be expected of a civilian, had, from the outbreak of the rebellion in the city, repeatedly urged on the Envoy the wisdom of a timely retreat), with the concurrence of the three senior officers under his command, now (on the 8th December, 1841) officially informed the Envoy that the situation of the troops was such from want of provisions (but three days' supply for the Sepoys at half rations, and an almost entire absence of forage for the horses and cattle) and the impracticability of procuring more, that no time ought to be lost in negotiating for a safe retreat from the country.

Following this, negotiations were re-opened with the rebel chiefs, and (on the 11th December) the Envoy met

them outside the British cantonment, and produced for their acceptance the draft of a treaty for the evacuation of Afghanistan by the British, and the virtual abdication of Shah Shuja'. The treaty was for the most part agreed to by the chiefs, among whom Muhammad Akbar Khan (recently returned from Turkistan), the favourite son of the deposed Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, our prisoner in India, occupied a prominent position. Nothing, however, was done to carry out the terms of the treaty, except the delivery to the insurgents of some Commissariat forts we held close to our cantonment, and matters, daily growing worse, reached a crisis on the 23rd of December, when another meeting took place, as before, between the Envoy and the rebel chiefs, to discuss fresh terms proposed by Akbar Khan, at which Sir W. McNaghten was treacherously killed on the spot. The sequel may be summed up in a few words.

Akbar Khan now took the general direction of affairs. He arranged the departure of our troops from Kabul, and the safe custody by his kinsman Zaman Khan of our hostages and prisoners of war; and he, too, provoked the attacks of the Ghilzie on the disorderly and famished crowd of retreating soldiers and camp-followers, through the whole length of inhospitable frost-bound and snow-covered hills on the road to Jalalabad, to the destruction literally to a man of the entire multitude. On the 6th January, 1842, the British troops, numbering about 4,000 soldiers and 12,000 camp-followers, quitted their position at Kabul, and on the 13th but a solitary survivor, wounded and exhausted, reached Jalalabad to tell the mournful tale.

Shah Shuja', who had hitherto been the plaything of the British Envoy, now became the puppet of Akbar Khan and the other Barakzai chiefs associated with him in the revolt, and when he had served their purpose he was treacherously assassinated by one of them on the 5th April. Whilst these events were enacting at Kabul, Brigadier Sale held his own at Jalalabad, and General Nott maintained the

position at Kandahar; but the garrison of Ghazni, after manfully holding out till March, were at last compelled to capitulate, and were treacherously attacked and finally destroyed by the infuriated Afghans. For the relief of Sale and the recovery of our hostages and prisoners, a fresh army from India, under the command of General Pollock, was sent to Kabul. This force, having defeated Akbar Khan near Jalalabad, reoccupied Kabul, where it was joined by Nott with the troops from Kandahar, and by our liberated captives from the Kohistan. The great bazar of the city was now destroyed as a mark of our retribution, and then the whole combined forces, on the 12th October, 1842, marched away on their return to India, leaving the Prince Shahpur to make the best he could of the place recently occupied by his defunct father the Shah Shuja'. But the unfortunate youth, being driven out by Akbar Khan, fled to Peshawar before our returning troops had well reached India; and then, the British Government having determined to leave the Afghans to govern themselves, Dost Muhammad and the other Afghan prisoners were released, and forthwith (in the beginning of 1843) returned to Afghanistan. Thus ended this unjust, impolitic, and unnecessary interference with the affairs of a distant, independent, and unoffending State. The expedition, during the four years it lasted, employed beyond the British frontier between thirty and forty thousand troops, and cost the revenues of India twenty millions of money, entailed an untold misery, sorrow, and loss of human life, and the miserable destruction of 100,000 camels and beasts of burden. And with what advantage? The ruler we dethroned was again restored to his country. The king whom we set up perished ignominiously in the calamitous rebellion which our mismanagement had brought about. An important division of our army of occupation suffered an unheard-of disaster. And the people to whom we had become favourably known through our previous missions, and who viewed us in the light of friends, now knew no words of reproach too exe-

crable for us, and hated us with a fervour measured by the evils we had inflicted upon them. Dost Muhammad on his return to Kabul was hailed with joy by his people, and quickly re-established himself as Amir with greater popularity and authority than ever, and, as a first measure of security, with a very reasonable precaution, closed his country to all communication from the side of India with a jealous care and vigilance.

The excitement caused by the stirring events of the war in Afghanistan hardly had time to settle into quiet, when the Government of India was involved in hostilities with Sindh and the Panjab. Both countries, the first rapidly, the other more leisurely, were conquered after hard-fought and bloody campaigns, and finally annexed to the British dominion in India, excepting Kashmir, which we sold to Gulab Singh. And so, in 1849, Peshawar, the Afghan province that Dost Muhammad had long so earnestly desired to recover from the Sikhs, and in the hope of regaining which he had come down to oppose our army at the battle of Gujrat, became the frontier-post of our newly-acquired territory, and brought us into direct contact with the Kabul country. But this proximity did not lead to any formal resumption of diplomatic relations with the Kabul Amir; rather it stimulated the activity of the priesthood in their denunciations of the infidel Faringi, and confirmed the nobles of the country in their course of fanning the spirit of hatred and revenge against us in the minds of their clansmen, which had been naturally kindled by our conduct towards them. At the same time, Dost Muhammad, whilst extending his authority at home by the annexation of the provinces of Balkh and Kandahar on the north and south respectively, as preparatory steps to the consolidation of his rule by the capture of Herat, maintained a very cautious reserve in all his communications with the British, and guarded the approaches to Kabul with unceasing watchfulness and suspicion. But with all this, the anxiety caused by the renewed activity of Persia

in her designs against Herat, brought about a mutual *rapprochement* between the Government of India and the Afghan Amir; so that in 1855 Dost Muhammad sent his favourite son and declared heir-apparent Ghulam Hydar Khan to Peshawar, for the purpose of a formal renewal of amicable relations. This was followed by the Amir himself coming to Peshawar in the beginning of 1857, to make a new treaty in amplification of the Short Articles obtained by Ghulam Hydar Khan, and to negotiate for assistance against the Persians at Herat. The treaty of friendship now concluded between Dost Muhammad Khan and the Government of India, bound the Amir to be the friend of our friends and the enemy of our enemies, but contained no reciprocal engagement on the part of the British, though Dost Muhammad urgently pleaded for an offensive and defensive alliance. His disappointment on this point was, however, somewhat mitigated by the cordially hospitable reception accorded him, the encouragement of his policy to establish a consolidated rule in Afghanistan, and the substantial aid afforded him to clear Herat of the Persians.

For this purpose the Government of India granted the Amir a supply of arms, and a subsidy of a lakh of rupees a month from the revenues of India during the continuance of the Persian war; and Major Lumsden's mission was sent to Kandahar to aid the Amir with advice and countenance in his contemplated operations against Herat. The Mission, however, had hardly reached its destination when the Persian war was terminated by the retreat of the Persians from Herat, and the Mutiny in India broke out; but it being a matter of importance that at a crisis such as this the Amir should be kept to the observance of his friendly relations with the British, the Mission was retained at Kandahar till the Mutiny was quelled, and the monthly subsidy was continued until its return to India in July of the following year. The amicable relations thus established between the British Government and the Kabul Amir continued to run

a smooth course during the lifetime of Dost Muhammad. But after his death, which occurred at Herat in July, 1863 —just after the aged chieftain had captured the fortress and added this long-coveted province to the Barakzai dominion in Afghanistan—there ensued a long civil war, during which the various claimants to the throne sought to obtain of the British Government, each for himself, the same terms of friendship and recognition as had been accorded to the deceased Amir. The British Government, however, sternly observed an attitude of strict impartiality and non-interference in the internal affairs of the country, and, content to accept the *de facto* ruler without reference to the merits of the case, maintained their policy of neutrality throughout the five years of contention. This decision of the Government of India caused unexpected trouble to Sher Ali Khan, who, after the death of his full brother Ghulam Hydar, had been nominated heir-apparent by the Amir Dost Muhammad, to the great offence of his elder sons by another wife. Both Ghulam Hydar and Sher Ali had accompanied their father to India as prisoners of war. Of the two brothers, the former had always entertained and expressed sentiments of good-will towards the British; but it was otherwise with the latter, who, on his return to his native country, indulged in outspoken feelings of aversion towards the nation which had brought so great calamities upon his family and his country. So strong was this feeling of hostility in the breast of Sher Ali, that when Lumsden's Mission passed through his provincial government of Ghazni, he studiously kept aloof from it, and neglected the hospitalities which it was his duty to observe; and moreover, when, during the crisis of the Mutiny, with the British army before Delhi, there was a party in Afghanistan urging on Dost Muhammad to seize the opportunity of attacking the British troops at Peshawar, and recovering that province of the Durrani kingdom, Sher Ali openly identified himself with the war party. At this moment of pressure Dost Muhammad was wavering in his decision,

until the straightforward and manly advice of his son Muhammad Azim Khan, his governor of Kurram, came opportunely to fix his decision to the loyal observance of his treaty engagements. "By all means," said Azim, "as a good Mussulman you may well wage war with the infidel Faringi, but before you commit yourself to such a very hazardous enterprise, count well your chances of success. We have had the British here before when the Panjab lay between us; but with them now at our very door, if you bring them here again, by God, here they will stay."

On the death of Dost Muhammad, Sher Ali, as the appointed heir, assumed the government at Kabul, and announced the fact to the British Government, at the same time soliciting their recognition and a continuance of the friendly support accorded to his father. About this time (1863-4) the British were engaged in the Ambela campaign against the Hindustani fanatics settled at Malka on the Mahaban mountain, and Sher Ali Khan's communication did not receive immediate notice or acknowledgment. And at the close of the Ambela war,—it having been found that Sher Ali, if he had not actually encouraged the religious war preached against us by the Mussulman priesthood in his country, at all events took no steps to check it, nor even to restrain his frontier tribesmen from rushing in shoals to swell the multitudes in our enemy's camp,—when the time came for the Government of India to reply to his communication, he was formally made acquainted with the policy of strict neutrality adopted by the British Government in regard to its relations with Afghanistan and its *de facto* rulers. This information, whilst it filled Sher Ali with dismay, encouraged his rivals to more strenuous exertion, assured as they thus were of a free field and no favour to fight out their fight amongst themselves. Sher Ali was soon involved in hostilities with his elder brothers by another mother, and after varying fortunes and some severe losses, was at length driven to seek refuge at Herat. Muhammad Afzal Khan (the eldest son of Dost Muhammad) by the

aid of his son Abdurrahman (the now ruling Amir) and his own full brother Muhammad Azim Khan, became Amir of Kabul in May, 1866, and was recognised as such by the Government of India. Afzal died after a rule of only six months, and was then succeeded at Kabul by Azim, to the discontent of Abdurrahman, who looked upon himself as the rightful successor, and consequently retired in disgust to Balkh, his father's previous provincial government. Azim, owing to departure from its previously announced policy of neutrality, had not yet received the recognition of the Government of India as Amir, when—on account of his intolerable oppressions—he was driven to seek refuge in Persia (where he died), and Sher Ali, overcoming all his opponents again (in the early part of 1869), re-established himself at Kabul. Abdurrahman, now seeing his last chance lost, fled to Bukhara, and thence found an asylum with the Russians at Samarkand. Such, in briefest terms, were the prominent events of the civil war in Afghanistan following upon the death of Dost Muhammad, as far at least as concerns the fate of the several competitors for the throne. Sher Ali's rivals had all been removed by death or exile, and he now had no opponent in the country to contest his right as Amir of Afghanistan.

During the period of this prolonged anarchy and strife in Afghanistan, the affairs of that country engaged an unusual amount of the public attention, and various were the speculations as to the future of its relations with the British Government, and, indeed, as to its continued existence as an independent State. Past experience had shown clearly enough that no reliance could be placed on the stability or prosperity of any native Government among a people of such heterogeneous, discordant, and barbarous elements as composed the Afghan nationality, without the material support and paramount influence of some great external Power. But the difficulty lay in combining the support and influence together; for the Afghan rulers were willing enough at all times to accept any amount of material support from what

every quarter available short of armed intervention, but they could not bear the idea of paramount influence and the necessary intercourse with foreigners, of whatever creed. They desired to keep their country strictly to themselves, and to exercise their authority unfettered by outside influences; and with this aim in view it has always been their policy to preach hatred of the foreigner, and to implant it deep in the hearts of their savage and ignorant people by exciting their religious bigotry and patriotic zeal. Their game, in fact, has been to take all they could get by playing off the rival interests of their great neighbours against one another, without, on their own part, rendering anything in return, or modifying their accustomed habits to the changing conditions and advancing civilization of their surroundings. The rough nature of their country and the uninviting character of its inhabitants have hitherto enabled them to maintain their position of isolation with an amount of success that has hardened them against any notion of reform. But the steady advance of the two great and civilizing Powers of Asia from the north and south—Russia and Britain—respectively, towards their country, as the meeting-point of their different systems and rival interests, must, in the course of time—from their near approach to each other—now not far distant, put a stop to this state of things, and lead to a redistribution or division of the Afghan country between them.

This is an eventuality that has long been foreseen, and its discussion has led to the advocacy of very different measures by those who have viewed the question from the standpoint of British interests. And at the time now under consideration—the period of the Afghan civil war from 1864–1869—the subject attracted a very lively attention. Some held that Afghanistan was a mere bugbear; that the disposition and acts of its rulers and people were matters of indifference; that the natural and proper boundary of India towards that country was the river Indus; that this great stream formed an impassable barrier against

any invader from the west; and that it was sufficient for the safety and integrity of the British dominion in India to fortify this river boundary, not so much by the erection of a chain of forts and strong places in support, as by the cultivation of the good-will and patriotism of the Indian princes and peoples. For the rest, they would leave Afghanistan to itself, and be content to control its rulers and people by moral suasion and the more direct incentive of commercial interests.

Others were of opinion that such notions were puerile absurdities; that Afghanistan was a bugbear merely from ignorance, and the consequent inability to appreciate the country and its people at their proper worth; that the uncontrolled disposition and acts of the Afghans were matters of most serious import to the peace and welfare of India; that the Indus afforded no defensible barrier at all; and that the loyalty of India could only be hoped for so long as we held a dominant, secure, and undisputable position on the frontier. That, as to leaving Afghanistan and the Afghans to themselves and their own devices, we should soon find that country and its people, in the hands of others, very troublesome and dangerous neighbours; whilst to talk of moral suasion and commercial interests was simple claptrap, as the one could produce but barren results, and the other be easily diverted and monopolized by more active and intelligent competitors. They looked on the serious entertainment of such views as not only dangerous, but as delaying the adoption of more suitable measures for the safeguarding of our position in India, either until it was too late to undertake them with advantage, or until they were forced upon us under unfavourable conditions, and at an enormously increased expense and difficulty. They advocated a sounder policy, and insisted on the necessity of a rectification of the undefined frontier attained by the Sikhs, in the course of their encroachments upon Afghan territory, at the time we conquered the Panjab, and acquired, with its annexation, their yet unsettled trans-Indus territories, the

frontier of which was an undefined line running irregularly along the base of the Pathan hills. They proposed to rectify this useless and troublesome border-line by the general annexation and settlement of the great mountain range, buttressing the highlands of Kabul and Ghazni, from the Khybar to the Bholan, against the Indus valley and plain of India. They considered that our several successive punitive expeditions into the hills of this range should be utilized to subdue, annex, and settle the several tribal communities, to open out their lawless territories by roads and military posts, and thus to confer on these abandoned and predatory hillmen the benefits and blessings of British rule, with the security, peace, and prosperity that characterize it in other hill States of the Panjab, the people of which were considered equally wild and barbarous before we came to know and rule them. They argued that the long succession of our punitive expeditions, as heretofore conducted, were a fruitless waste of life and money, and in no way deterrent of the raids they were meant to check; that they effected no good, but, on the contrary, only intensified the aversion and hostility of the tribes, by inflicting indiscriminate injury, and loss, and suffering upon the innocent mass for the faults of the guilty few. They did not conceal from themselves the magnitude of the scheme they advocated, but maintained that, carried out district by district, from time to time, as occasion presented, the enterprise was perfectly feasible, and in this manner became divested of the alarming difficulties and dangers that the opponents of such a project put forward; for, instead of the 800 miles of mountain fastnesses to be conquered from hundreds of thousands of indomitable warriors, there would be but a few thousand square miles of hill country, and a few thousand armed men to be reckoned with at a time—such as our punitive expeditions had frequently dealt with successfully. Further, they held that the advantage gained by taking these independent tribes in hand betimes, would compensate for the cost by permanently pacifying an habi-

tually turbulent people—whilst subjecting them to the salutary restraints of law and order—by finding them fixed and profitable employment in the ranks of our soldiery and police, etc., and by giving security and encouragement to all by the mere establishment of British authority. Moreover, they insisted on the advisability of an early adoption of their views, so that when the day of trial on the frontier came, we should find the hill tribes well in hand, and loyal to our cause, if not from natural predilection, at least from personal interest; for where security reigns, there property increases, and the instinct to preserve it impels to the support of the protector. These proposals of the advocates of a rectified frontier, though scornfully criticized and denounced at the time by their opponents in authority with Government, have since been, to some extent (though but very partially) adopted, and are now being carried out by the British occupation of the Bholan and Khybar passes, whilst efforts are being made to initiate like operations in the intervening tracts of country. The Kákar country, at the southern end of the Suleman range, has recently been occupied and taken under British control, by the small force of the Zhob Valley Expedition, without difficulty and with complete success. The remaining Waziri country, northwards up to the Kurram Valley, may be similarly dealt with, and with equal facility. The pity is, that the rectification of the frontier should have been taken up in earnest at so late an hour of the day.

There is yet another party of those who have taken an interest in the affairs of Afghanistan and studied the history of that country, who see no satisfactory settlement of the question of its future, in respect to the peace of India and the security of British rule in that peninsula, except by its conquest, annexation, and settlement as an integral portion of the British dominion. But at the time we are now considering, their views were looked upon as altogether premature, impracticable, and fraught with peril. Since that time, however, they have had reason to think that a grand

and most favourable opportunity of effecting this desirable end was thrown away in the last Afghan war of 1878-1881, and they hold that the measure will yet be forced upon us under immeasurably greater difficulties, and with far more doubtful results than if the country had been taken and occupied when there was no prospect of meeting a European antagonist in the field.

With the termination of the civil war, and return of Sher Ali to Kabul, a new turn was given to the current of public attention towards the affairs of Afghanistan. Whilst at Herat, Sher Ali had sent his son Ya'cub Khan to interview the Shah of Persia, His Majesty happening at that time to be at Mashhad; and shortly after his return Sher Ali set out from Herat to recover Kabul by way of Kandahar, and carried everything before him. But with all his success, Sher Ali—whether on account of his negotiations with Persia, or the fear of Abdurrahman renewing the contest with Russian aid—was mistrustful of his position, and most anxious to secure the recognition and support of the British Government. He lost no time now in making known his desires once more; and his overtures, so steadily rejected in the past, were this time promptly responded to, and as an earnest of our good-will, a handsome donation of two lakhs of rupees was forthwith remitted to him at Kabul. On this Sher Ali at once threw himself on the support and protection of the British, and without loss of time came to India to meet the new Viceroy, Lord Mayo, on his way to Simla. The meeting took place at Amballa in March, 1869; and a magnificent and very cordial reception was accorded to the successful Amir. The hospitable entertainment he received on this occasion went far to obliterate the bitter feelings Sher Ali was wont to express against the British Government on account of its having abandoned him and his acknowledged rights in the recent contest for the succession; and—although disappointed in his wish for a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance—he returned to Kabul highly pleased with his honourable

reception and the rich gifts in arms and money bestowed upon him, fully assured of the security of his position, and every way disposed to maintain a loyal and friendly attitude.

Among the more important matters discussed at the Amballa meeting were the questions of the Oxus boundary, the Persian encroachment on Sistan, and Sher Ali's nomination of his youthful son Abdullah, as heir-apparent. As to the first, the alarm expressed by Sher Ali at the rapid advance of Russia in Turkistan, and his solicitude for the safety of his frontier on the line of the Oxus, led to diplomatic correspondence on the subject between the British and Russian Governments, the result of which was a definition of the Oxus boundary highly favourable to the Amir, inasmuch as it included within the Afghan boundary the previously unappropriated States of Badakhshan and Wakhan. As to the last, Sher Ali failed to obtain the recognition of the British Government for his nominee, the proved ability and State services rendered by Ya'cub Khan —the elder son by another mother—appearing strong points in favour of his claim. The question of Sistan the Amir confidingly entrusted to the care of the British Government, and consented to its settlement by arbitration: meanwhile Sher Ali agreed to refrain from any forcible measures against the territory in dispute.

On his return to Kabul, Sher Ali entered actively on the work of reform in the administration of his government, and introduced some important changes; but he devoted the most of his attention to the increase, improved discipline, and better equipment of his army, in the prosecution of which measures he received both encouragement and very material aid from the Government of India, in the shape of drill-instructors, artificers, and large supplies of arms and ammunition, together with two batteries of the modern artillery, besides considerable money grants and a fixed subsidy of a lakh of rupees a month. In return for all these favours Sher Ali gave us his good-will— he could not at present receive British Officers as residents

in his country, though he hoped to be able to do so later on—and to some slight extent relaxed the previous rigid exclusion of foreigners from the side of India, and entered on a course of friendly relations that promised well for the future—as well, at least, as could be expected considering the steady interchange of communications with the Russian authorities in Turkistan; a correspondence which had commenced directly after Sher Ali recovered his position as Amir at Kabul. This favourable turn of affairs, however, did not last long. Sher Ali, though the British Government had rejected his nominee, now formally proclaimed Abdullah as his heir-apparent, an act which provoked Ya'cub to rebellion and flight to Herat. On this Sher Ali again appealed to the British for a recognition of the heir of his choice, but with no better success than before. Following this, the decision of the Sistan arbitration of 1872—by which the Persians were confirmed in their possession of the portion of that country then occupied by them—was in the following year communicated to the Amir.

This result was so different from what Sher Ali expected when he entrusted his interests in this quarter to the care of the British Government, that he now considered himself grievously injured; and the doubts as to our sincerity, raised in his mind by the rejection of his wishes in regard to his proclaimed heir, became confirmed, and produced a revulsion of feeling towards us which destroyed the confidence inspired by the meeting at Amballa. Some other mishaps too in the course of our relations with Sher Ali on several subsequent occasions acted as goads to keep alive and increase the dissatisfaction thus produced, particularly the intervention of the Viceroy on behalf of Ya'cub, whom the Amir had imprisoned for rebellion. Sher Ali warmly resented this interposition as an unwarrantable interference with his parental authority and with the affairs of his government. But the ill-temper and suspicions aroused by these untoward occurrences were trifles compared with the effects produced in Sher Ali's mind by the

development of our dealings with the chief of Balochistan and the position we had just at this time taken up at Quetta. He looked upon this move as a stealthy step to menace his independence, and, full of mistrust, became at once completely estranged from us.

In place of the good-will and frank confidence he at first displayed on his return to Kabul from the Amballa meeting, Sher Ali now observed a strict reserve; and whilst closing his country to access from our side, and limiting his correspondence with the British within the narrowest limits of official propriety, he entered upon a course of more active correspondence with the Russians in Turkistan, and received a succession of their agents and emissaries at Kabul. In fact Sher Ali, though he had not yet (in 1875) finally cut adrift from the British—by whose support and assistance he had become not only firmly established in the rule of Afghanistan, but had also become the possessor of a numerous and well-equipped army with an abundant store of war munitions—evidently thought to frighten them into a more careful regard for his honour and dignity by an attempt to try a turn of the Russian friendship. But in his communications with the Russian emissaries he was quickly drawn further away from the British than he really desired. He obtained from his Russian friends nothing in the way of material support, but abundance of promises and encouragement of the idle schemes he now began to hatch for the employment of his army in the recovery of the long-lost Afghan provinces on the side of India. But with all this Sher Ali had no predilection for the Russians, and certainly—his dissatisfaction notwithstanding—preferred the British as allies. He was driven to extremity by our mismanagement, and, for purposes of his own, thought to play off Russia against Britain. Unfortunately for Sher Ali, the Russians took advantage of the occasion to turn their dealings with the Amir to purposes of their own in connection with the warlike aspect of British and Russian relations in Europe caused by events of the Russo-Turkish war; and with the result of utter ruin to Sher Ali.

The friendly relations so successfully initiated by Lord Mayo had hardly time to mature before the sudden and lamentable death of the Viceroy deprived Sher Ali of a trusted friend, a powerful supporter, and a wise counsellor. During the Viceroyship of his successor the smooth course and promising progress of the newly-commenced relations between the British Government and the Afghan Amir received a succession of shocks and checks by which the confidence of Sher Ali in our sincerity was completely undermined, and by which he was driven into an attitude of hostility, which, though not uncongenial to his natural disposition, he at this time little desired.

In this unsatisfactory and menacing state of affairs at Kabul, Lord Lytton arrived in India as the new Viceroy, and no time was lost in taking steps for an amicable adjustment of the existing differences and for a more stable arrangement for the future relations between the British Government and the Afghan Amir. To effect these objects the British Government was now prepared to recognise the heir of Sher Ali's choice, to conclude a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, to grant him an annual subsidy and a large sum of money immediately besides. The preliminary arrangements for negotiation, however, were so hampered by party spirit among high officials in India, and Sher Ali himself was so sore and suspicious that, though he was anxious for a means of extricating himself from his present difficult position, he could not divest himself of the distrust that possessed his mind, and on the move of our troops to Quetta resolved to sever his connection with the British. The efforts made by the new Viceroy to come to a mutually advantageous understanding between the British Government and the estranged Amir were thwarted at every turn and failed throughout. Sher Ali treated all the friendly overtures now made with disdain; he took no notice of the Viceroy's invitation to the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, but busied himself in assembling an army at Jalalabad; he unnecessarily de-

layed sending his envoy to India to discuss the several matters then awaiting adjustment between the two Governments; and finally he rejected the basis—the reception of British officers as political agents at his capital and on his frontiers—on the acceptance of which the opening of negotiations depended. In consequence of this behaviour of Sher Ali, the Government of India (in October, 1876) occupied the position at Quetta with a military detachment and moved up troops to strengthen the garrisons towards Peshawar. But these measures only increased the Amir's hostility, and he—whilst his envoy was at Peshawar—raised a war-cry among his people, took possession of the fort of Ali Masjid in the Khybar, and garrisoned the pass itself with his troops. The breach between Sher Ali and the British Government was now complete. Our Native Agent at the court of the Amir had accompanied the Afghan Envoy to Peshawar (where the Envoy died), and he did not again return to his post at Kabul. Sher Ali thus finally cut himself adrift from the British alliance and turned to cultivate the friendship of the Russians. He had so effectually closed his country against us that no reliable intelligence of his proceedings was now obtainable, till at last (in July, 1878) it became known that a mission of Russian officers had arrived at Kabul, where they were most hospitably entertained and treated with the highest distinction by Sher Ali.

The British Government now resolved to send a Mission of their own to Kabul, and accordingly without delay despatched in advance a native gentleman, who had formerly held the post of British Agent at Kabul, to inform Sher Ali of the approach of a friendly British Mission. The cold reception he met from the Amir boded no good, but as at this juncture the heir-apparent (Abdullah) happened to die, the business of the British messenger was postponed till the expiration of the forty days of mourning, and in the meantime the Viceroy addressed a letter of condolence to the Amir. Finally the British Mission, which

had assembled at Peshawar in the beginning of September, on the 20th of that month advanced to the entrance of the Khybar pass, but there finding the road closed to them by the Amir's military commandant, who declared that he had the Amir's positive order to prevent the passage of the Mission, by force if necessary, the Mission was recalled and dissolved.

After this insult the next step was war, and—after giving the Amir grace to the 20th of November—the British troops on the following day invaded Afghanistan in three divisions simultaneously by the Khybar, the Pewar, and the Khojak routes. Sher Ali did not himself take the field; but after the defeat and flight of his troops in the Khybar and the advance of the British upon Jalalabad, he liberated Ya'cub from prison, and committing the government to him, himself (13th December) fled from Kabul to his Turkistan province, with the avowed intention of proceeding to St. Petersburg to lay his case before the Powers of Europe. On his flight from Kabul, Sher Ali was accompanied by two members of the Russian Mission who had remained behind with him after the departure of the others; but Sher Ali never got beyond his own territory; he fell sick at Mazari Sharif, and died there on the 21st of February, 1879.

Ya'cub was now acknowledged as Amir by the unanimous voice of the chiefs and nobles of the whole country; and having at this moment received a friendly letter from Major Cavagnari, the political officer with the troops at Jalalabad, he lost no time in opening communications with the British for a friendly and satisfactory settlement of the existing state of affairs. Disclaiming all hostile desires against the British and professing his attachment to their Government, he looked now for their friendship, support, and recognition of himself as Amir on the same terms as heretofore enjoyed by his predecessors, avowing his willingness to meet the wishes of the British Government to the utmost of his ability. Ya'cub's overtures were favour-

ably received; and after some preliminary correspondence, and the advance of our troops to Gandumak, he voluntarily came to the British camp (8th May, 1879) to personally negotiate the settlement of his affairs, and on the 26th May signed the Treaty of Gandumak, which was finally ratified on the 7th June. By this treaty the Amir Ya'cub Khan bound himself to perpetual friendship with the British; to grant an amnesty to all of his subjects who had aided the British in the war; to subordinate his foreign relations to the control of the British Government, in return for which he was to be supported by them against foreign aggression with money, arms, and troops at their discretion; to receive and guarantee the safety and honourable treatment of a permanent British resident at Kabul and agents on his frontiers as might be necessary; to open a telegraph line to Kabul; to relinquish authority over the Khybar and Michni tribes; and to cede as assigned districts the Kuram, Peshin, and Sibi Valleys; besides an agreement to encourage commerce. With such a treaty, if properly observed, Afghanistan was as good as annexed; and Ya'cub, though he felt he had gone too far in some of the concessions, yet on the whole expressed his satisfaction and looked forward to an early meeting with the Viceroy to confirm and improve the *rapprochement* now established.

Matters thus settled, the Amir Ya'cub returned to Kabul; and the British troops, gradually evacuating their advanced positions, returned to India, leaving strong detachments to hold the three newly-acquired districts. And thus ended the war with Sher Ali, the strongest Amir that Afghanistan had ever seen. Under British protection, aid, and support he had acquired a well-defined and consolidated kingdom, an army of about 60,000 disciplined troops, and a magazine well stored with munitions of war. Yet so slight was the power he held over the discordant elements constituting his Government, that when war was declared many of his principal chiefs deserted his cause to side with the invader. At this time it would have been no difficult

task to conquer and annex the whole country and settle its affairs once for all. The popularity of Ya'cub, however, amongst British officials of high position on the frontier secured for him the favour of Government; and though on closer acquaintance he was found to be a man of far inferior abilities to what reports had painted him at a distance, it was decided to give him a fair trial, under our own control, as ruler of Afghanistan.

And so, consequent on the Treaty of Gandumak, Sir Louis Cavagnari was appointed the British Resident at Kabul. He proceeded without delay to his post there, accompanied by three other British officers, namely a Secretary, a Doctor, and an officer to command his personal escort, which consisted of twenty-five troopers and fifty Sepoys of the "Guides" corps, together with their servants and followers, the whole party numbering some two hundred souls. The British Resident arrived at Kabul on the 24th July, 1879, and was received by the Amir Ya'cub Khan with every mark of honour and welcome throughout the march from the advanced position occupied by the British on the Pewar route, and with a brilliant reception at Kabul itself, where he was installed in the Residency, situated in the Bala Hissar, close to the Amir's own palace, with kindly attention and cordial hospitality. The British party, well pleased with the honours done them, settled down in their new quarters with every outward sign of a quiet and peaceful sojourn before them. Before many days, however, it became apparent that two kings could not reign in one capital, and the British Resident, desiring a free and unrestrained access of the Amir's subjects to himself, caused the guard of the Amir's household troops, placed by Ya'cub over the Residency, to be removed and discontinued. Following this, whispers were heard of the Amir's chafing under the high-handed ways of the British Resident, and there was talk of his interference in Government affairs, and comment on the little deference and respect shown by

the British officer towards Ya'cub himself and his dignity as Amir. The newly-arrived Resident soon became unpopular at the Kabul court; and within a month of his taking up his duties, there were already two rival factions formed, popularly styled the Cavagnarizai and the Ya'cubzai—the partisans of Cavagnari and the partisans of Ya'cub. The British Resident forgot that he was not now the frontier Deputy Commissioner, backed in his deeds and demands by the force of authority and the support of British troops, and he failed to recognise the altered conditions of his position. In short, the name of Cavagnari soon became bandied about the bazar with disrespectful and abusive epithets. Just at this time some five or six regiments having arrived from Herat in a state of mutiny on account of arrears of pay, they took up the cry and coupled the British Envoy with the Amir in their threats and denunciations. Ya'cub was not a stranger to such displays of insubordination, and dealt in his own cautious way with these mutineers. He marched off some of them to distant districts to collect revenue, others he sent away on furlough, and the rest he deprived of their arms and ammunition; and then hoped to quiet their discontent by an instalment of pay. For this last purpose, on the morning of the 3rd September, 1879, three of the disarmed mutineer regiments were marched from their camp outside, into the Bala Hissar to be paid at the treasury office. Here one month's pay being offered instead of the five they claimed, they broke out, attacked their own officers, and then rushed off in a body to the Amir's palace. Here they were turned off by the guard, and then tumultuously made for the British Residency, which they commenced stoning. Unluckily some one in the Residency fired on the mob, on which the mutineers ran off to the magazine, and there arming themselves returned to attack the Residency. Uproar and confusion now ensued; and the mutineers were quickly joined by other regiments and the rabble

of the city. The Amir sent in succession several leading men and his own son to quell the disturbance, but all to no purpose. He, however, immediately sent intelligence of the outbreak to the nearest British authority, the political officer at Ali-Khel, by whom the alarming news was received during the night of the 4th September, and at once telegraphed to the Viceroy at Simla.

Cavagnari and his brave companions defended themselves with heroic courage, to the admiration and applause of even their Afghan enemies. But the place being set on fire, and no egress possible, they all perished in the ruins, except three or four natives, who managed to escape at the outset.

The early occupation of Kabul now became necessary, and an immediate advance was made on the Kuram line, whilst the troops at Kandahar were held fast there, and the advance of a column by the Khybar rapidly organized. Meanwhile at Kabul, the Amir's army dispersed, his Government collapsed, and anarchy reigned supreme. Some of his chiefs were for a national rising to oppose the British advance; but the Amir refused to lead the movement. He wrote to the British, deploring the catastrophe, courting their inquiry, and lamenting the loss of his authority and Government, and his own helpless condition. Before the close of September, General Roberts, with a compact movable column of 7,000 men, had crossed the Shuturgardan Pass, and at Khushi, the first stage on the other side, Ya'cub Khan, having abandoned Kabul, joined his camp. Here he was welcomed with a melancholy satisfaction, and placed under honourable restraint. The force then advanced upon Kabul, and defeating the opposing rebels at Charasin, took possession of the capital on the 7th October. Shortly afterwards, Ya'cub Khan formally tendered his abdication, and Afghanistan was now, at the close of October, 1879, left in the possession of the British without an Amir of its own.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RUSSIAN PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS, AND ITS EFFECT, AND THAT OF THE VISIT OF THE CZAREWITCH, ON INDIA.

PART I.

BOTH the loyal and the disaffected in India ascribe the success of the British, in spite of the greatest blunders, to "the good fortune of Government," the Iqbál-i-Sirkár. A superstition has been created which history has done much to confirm, and which discourages opposition to our rule. Thus, fortune has again favoured the British rule of India, after the commission of a mistake which seemed irretrievable. The reception of the Czarewitch as the guest of the Indian Government, announced by Lord Salisbury as a pledge of the good understanding between England and Russia, will not, as is expected, convince the natives that their looking to the latter power for a Baboo millennium is hopeless, for the armaments of the loyal Chiefs are a sufficient sign of the times to the contrary; but the flood of rhetoric and false sentiment which, from the Governor-General downwards, may be let loose in the welcome to the Heir of all the Russias, will do much to convince the masses that India is visited by her future king. Nor is the way unprepared for him. Wallace's "Russia" has been translated into Hindustani, the "lingua franca" of India, and is, I believe, a textbook for an Indian University. Its author, fortunately, has been deputed to attend on the Czarewitch. Lord Dufferin's Belfast speech, partly relying on the moderation of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs for the peace of India, is not yet forgotten. Every trader from Central Asia tells the natives of India how easy it is to elude the Russian customs dues, owing to the complaisance of officials, and

contrasts this ease with British stringency. The reports of Russia building mosques and establishing Mohammedan schools in the territory under her influence in Central Asia are creating a favourable impression; even the crier who announces the minute when the daily fast of the Ramazán is to cease or to be resumed, is said to be an official paid by the Russian Government; one of the regiments of the Emperor's own guard are Mohammedans, from the Colonel to the private; the Governor of a Province is a Mohammedan; and the Russians are "hail fellows well-met" in their contact with natives of Central Asia, whilst municipalities, much on the Anglo-Indian plan, exist in Russian Central Asia, and Christian proselytism among Mohammedans is prohibited. In other words, Russia has lately endeavoured to convince the Mohammedans, in spite of the relentless massacres of the Yomud Tartars, in spite of her unwearying hostility to the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalifa of the Faithful, that she, and not England, is the true friend of Islám. The recent utterance of Lord Salisbury will further tend to discourage loyal Mohammedans, and may even show that the alleged tradition of our Foreign Office always to please Russia, does not exist only in Urquhart's imagination.

Be that as it may, it is to be hoped that the Czarewitch will not be taken seriously, but as a young man who, and whose companions, require amusement and not instruction. It would be absurd and suicidal to pass in review before him our troops and those of our allies; and it would be ridiculous to impress him with the benefits of Civilian rule. The mischief of not receiving him as the private honoured guest of the Viceroy, as has been the practice with other globe-trotting princes, can partially be undone by treating him in accordance with his age and attainments, not those of confidants of Ignatieff, like Onou.

What, however, renders Russian flirtations with Mohammedans in Central Asia innocuous, what reduces Foreign Office coquetry with Russia to a diplomatic amenity, is the

persistent effort made by the Russian Government to Slavonize all those of its subjects who do not profess the Greek orthodox faith as secularized in Russia, or else to condemn them to extinction, as separate creeds or races, by massacre, or suppressive legislation or administration. All honours are open to the Finn, the Lutheran, even the German generally, the Jew, the Pole, if he will become a Russian in faith. But Russia will not tolerate the existence of elements in her own midst, which, however intelligent, industrious, or loyal, do not add their strength to the movement of Russianizing Russia, when every Russian, like the anglicized Baboo, is a mere imitator of the last craze in France, Germany, or England. Like corks on a stormy sea, the facile Russian, with his Tartar nature, drifts with every wave of modern thought; and his good temper, when not ruffled, is dazzled by paradox, has scarcely yet learnt to discriminate between fact and fiction, between the possible and the desirable, and between practice and theory. He, further, more than others, is apt to suffer from the confusion between the *meum* and *tuum*, which, alas, the reign of might against right since 1870 is introducing all over Europe, along with a recrudescence everywhere of the fiercest national feeling, to the destruction of the cosmopolitan dreams of the years between 1848 and 1866. The attempts to suppress the Armenian language in Armenian schools and the German language in the courts of the Baltic provinces, are instances of the Russification which pervades every branch of the administration; but it is the recent treatment of the Jews which will warn both Mohammedans and Hindus of their own fate when hugged by the Russian bear. The following pages contain extracts from letters written in various parts of Russia by most responsible persons, and tell a tale compared with which no account of "atrocities" has yet been more appalling. In 1881, hordes of Muscovite peasantry were brought from Russia proper into so-called "Little Russia," in order to kill the Jews who are cooped up within the latter so-called "pale." That work of destruction, carried

on under the eyes of the police and of assembled troops, was too slow a process at home and created too much attention abroad. The more insidious system is now resorted to, of squeezing five millions to death without rousing the indignation of Europe. What this system is, will be obvious from the following extracts of letters, written by highly respectable and responsible persons in Russia. They speak for themselves, and they form a fitting introduction to the history of the persecution in Russia of a race that, in the official reports of its persecutors, is described as having a foremost place in what there is of intellectual and industrious life in that country. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how any undertaking can be carried to a thorough conclusion, in Russia, whether in politics, education, commerce, or other phase of public life and administration, if solely entrusted to Russians, or without the aid of Germans or Jews.

To the Jewish race, as such, the Russian has no objection. Any Jew, who accepts the Russian religion, gets from thirty to forty roubles, and from an animal at bay becomes an honoured citizen. It is, therefore, most creditable to that singular people, that they should prefer the most cruel persecution to denying the faith of their fathers. This conduct will commend them alike to Mohammedans and to Hindus, who also offer a noble example to the world by preferring their religion, or the maintenance of their caste, to sordid attractions of gain or place. The former will wonder how the Russians can seek to destroy a people from whom their own Saviour is descended; who, as warmly as Moslems, defend the Unity of the Godhead; and whose religious practices and prohibitions of food are similar to their own. The Hindus will wonder what harm there is in a race which follows agricultural and military pursuits in Guzerat, and whose strict adhesion to regulations regarding marriage and other matters so much resemble, those affecting the higher castes. It was for this resemblance that Brahminical privileges

were given to the Jews in Cochin, and other parts of Southern India. Sir Barrow Ellis and other popular Indian administrators were Jews; and both Mohammedans and Hindus will, in spite of the gushing welcome of the Czarewitch, distrust a Government that destroys the religion or caste of those that are fully subjected to its rule.

A friend of Russia, I am a greater friend of truth. To give the names of the writers who are quoted further on is not necessary, and might entail their expulsion. So great is the dread of impending evil that, even here, on free British soil, Jewish emigrants fear to answer questions regarding the obvious cause of their physical suffering or even mutilation.

The conscience of Europe and of the United States is roused; and England will no longer be deterred from doing her duty to mankind by hints of the irritation of the Russian Government, or by threats of the exposure of her own shortcomings. We shall bow our heads with humility, should Russia present us with the picture of "Darkest England;" and we are willing to bear as a national sin the savage aberrations of our African pioneers. Any Russian censure under those heads will be met by us more than halfway, and can only do us good; but it will not prevent our protest against the persecution of millions, to whom the commonest rights of living beings are denied. France, who is so tender of Russian susceptibilities, is joining in the defence of outraged humanity; and even Germany, whose academical "hunting of Jews" inspired the Tartar imitators to destroy them, is shrinking from affording further financial aid to her Russian neighbour. Already agents of Russia, men and women, some of high rank and the greatest ability, are emerging from their retirement in order to mislead this country and civilized Europe as to the facts of the case. Let us, therefore, allow a hearing to the victims of a Government which, as little as our own, can afford to have a bad reputation abroad, for the necessities of its position force it to advance and to annex; and it is therefore important to it to have

a good character with those—not yet under its rule—whom it may seek to devour.

LETTER I.

I. Our Government, which is an absolute monarchy, has it in its power to do just as it likes.

The Ministers submit the laws which they have considered to the Imperial Council (an assembly consisting of aged Government officials, chosen by the Government in their capacity of Imperial Councillors). These (Imperial Councillors) examine the laws submitted to them by the Ministers in behalf of the Government, and, on their recommendation, the Czar confirms and sanctions the laws. The laws are thus made, in compliance with the will and desire of the Government, but not of the people.

II. In all that concerns the welfare of the country and its institutions, be they great or small, the Government has no faith or confidence in any of its millions of inhabitants, though they be known to be experts, upright and trusty, and capable advisers, as long as they be not of its officials. Now most of these, engaged in its service, do not know or understand the habits of the people, their modes of life, their trades and occupations. From this it follows that they cannot perceive or appreciate the things that take place under their own control, even though they affect the lives of the people. All this notwithstanding, should any of these same officials, whoever or wherever they be, express their opinion or make a proposal on some administrative affair to their superiors—the Governors of the Provinces—and to those, again, above them—the Imperial Council—they are, one and all, alone trusted by the Government. It, indeed, lays down, enacts, and issues its laws by the advice, not of the experienced and practised men amongst the people who are not in its service, but of its own officials only, and that in matters affecting the welfare of the people.

However, in things that concern all the people of the country who are regarded in the eyes of the law as natives, and whom the Government does not in any way wish to hurt, in things such as these, the subordinate officials are at times compelled to make full inquiries of practised and experienced men. Not so, however, as regards the matters that affect the lives of us Jews. Our enemies, at no time at a disadvantage, are much less so now. Now, anti-Semitism, which, in other countries, has but excited hatred and jealousy against us in the hearts of some people, has here become a regular institution, a recognised and established law in the mouth and in the heart of the Government, as well as of the leaders of the people, which has for its object our utter extermination.

The Government officials, both small and great, are intriguing against us, as to how and by what means to compass gradually our ruin and destruction. Therefore, they do not at all care to inquire and ascertain of the good ones amongst the people, and of its upright men, whether the cruel decrees which they issue against us are for the good of the Government and the country.

At first they incited, in high quarters, against us the wild mob, which robbed, plundered, burnt, and ill-treated women. When these miscreants were put on their trial, the Public Prosecutor, as is well-known, defended them, robbers though they were, and condemned us, their victims! Then the Government issued against us the five decrees, known by the name of "The Laws adapted to the exigencies of the Times," "The May Laws," and also appointed a Commission of judges ill-disposed towards us, but would not allow us, who were to be judged, the right, possessed by every criminal or malefactor, of offering a defence. The people of this country have neither the will nor the choice to give an opinion of their own, as is the case in all other countries of Europe. Like little children, who look open-mouthed to the movement of their father's eyes, and talk accordingly, so do they scan the bearing and disposition of the Government, and acquiesce.

In the early days of the Government of our late lamented Czar (Alexander II.), when those about him saw that he was favourably disposed towards us, then all the people, and particularly the high officials, spoke well of us. So, too, did then the leading newspapers in the land. Now, however, when the people see that Government is bent on our destruction, they do its wish and denounce us to its officials.

In these days of trouble, when hatred of us is on the increase, when new decrees, harsh and cruel, are issued with the view of humiliating and restricting us in all and every way we have of earning a livelihood, in the rights of man, in education, and, in short, of outlawing us; in days such as these the information given in the official press of the Government itself is quite enough for our purpose. The *Grashdanin* and *Novoe Vremya* are always well-informed when something is contemplated against us by the Ministry. Experience has, long ago, taught us that, even as they prognosticate, so the cruel decrees are issued against us. These newspapers stated recently that it is proposed to pass "The Laws for the Time," "The May Laws," against the Jews even living in the provinces of Poland. A few months since they likewise stated that it is now contemplated to restrict the rights of the Jews, even as regards trade and manufacture, and now again they say that it is proposed to inflict severe punishments upon those Jews who break "The May Laws." According to this decision, it is easy enough to perceive that, should a Jew be apprehended leaving a town and staying one night in a village, which (according to "The Laws for the Time") he has no right to do, or should he transgress one of the supplementary decrees, when going forth to earn a livelihood for his wife and children, he will be severely punished (according to the announcement of the *Novoe Vremya*, which is perfectly trustworthy), as if he had been a criminal or delinquent.

Now we have inquired into all this, and it is quite true that, namely, just as their adverse announcements are credible and trusty, even so are their occasional favourable ones false and misleading, and that for two reasons:—

(i.) When they perceive any movement in distant countries in our be-

half, they contrive to throw dust into our eyes, and to throw us off our guard, as though it were the intention of the Government to withdraw its decrees.

(ii.) By this means they get an opportunity of exciting and inciting the Government and the people to hate and persecute us, and to prove that our well-being is detrimental to everybody—the Government, the country, and the inhabitants thereof.

It is self-evident that, should the Jews, who are disliked by the peasants, and who have not the rights which the peasants have, be placed under the control of these uncivilized serfs, they will for the least offence imagined by their enemies be mercilessly beaten by them, and be made to do the paving of the roads and every other hard labour. Indeed, their whole life will depend on the will of these serfs. On this condition the Minister will consent to allow the Jews to continue in the villages! The Governors of the provinces, however, are yet more cruel still, and advise to expel them altogether from the villages, even those amongst them who were not included in "The Laws for the Time," because of their having resided in the villages before the passing of "The May Laws."

A new decree, confirmed by the Imperial Council, is to be issued, depriving our brethren of the right of voting for the Semstvos, that is the Councils of the townlets and villages. Now, by the Government depriving us of this right also, the said Councils will in all matters of domestic administration do with us just as they like. Seeing that we have not the right of electing even and of expressing an opinion as to those to be elected, then when those to be elected will not depend on our vote at all, they will day by day pass laws hampering us in the matter of our livelihood in the townlets and villages. This indeed is the policy of the Imperial Council—not to decree our extermination at once, for that might arouse a storm of indignation in the world—but to open our veins and arteries one by one by means of laws under which we cannot live, until we perish powerless and in silence.

LETTER II.

NOTE.—According to our enemies the Government has detected in us this crime too, namely, that amongst the band of rebels and conspirators styled Nihilists, there have been found also to our grief some Jewish young men. These men, however, have long ago renounced not only their people and religion, but their very kinsfolk. They form part of a league, an offspring of the age, to be met with amongst every people and in all countries. The few Jews amongst them are Jews no longer, and none of us consider them as such.

Is it then right that a whole people—ever loyal to its Sovereign and Princes, both on religious grounds as well as from natural disposition—should be made to suffer for the crimes of a few of its rebellious children who have left it and its religion, and gone and joined the dregs of society? Was the whole Russian people to blame because a few rebels amongst it assassinated the late lamented Czar?

LETTER III.

We have specially to draw your attention to the new stratagem to which our persecutors have recourse. As they know that the former atrocities roused the indignation of Europe, they now adopt the new system of practising their persecution in silence without publishing any decrees, so that they may

be enabled to deny the fact of any new ukases having been issued. They publish decrees and orders by word of mouth, which are then carried out by the subordinate officials. Thus, the new regulation not to receive any Jewish lads in the Gymnasia was not put into effect by means of any published decree, but by orders given verbally to the officials. Thus it is also with the other oppressive measures.

LETTER IV.

Already in the time of the good Czar, Alexander II., who was, indeed, desirous of rendering our position in the land better than it had been before, and who granted us certain special rights, even then, we say, we were confined to but sixteen districts (governments), as in a ghetto. With the exception of artisans and first class merchants, whom he allowed to reside in the interior of the country (as aliens, however, and not as citizens), the bulk of our people were excluded from the country. In these sixteen districts (in which they were allowed to reside) it was, as we have seen, not as citizens. They were, consequently, forbidden to acquire land and most other things which afford a livelihood to the people in this country. They thus lived mostly in the towns only, severely crippled by special legislation, or also in the villages, and followed, all of them, some few known trades. Even in the towns, however, where the native Christian population was three times as large as the Jewish, many of the former carried on some of the trades from which the latter derived so very scant a maintenance. It thus happened that in all these sixteen districts, the Jewish residents suffered greatly from privation, and from its consequent evils, jealousy, strife, and denunciation.

The relief granted us by the Czar, Alexander II., small as it was in itself, was yet great in our eyes. For when, in 1865, he gave permission to Jewish artisans to settle in the interior of the country, tens of thousands of Jewish families, as a consequence of the Imperial ukase, took up their residence there, and they have remained there ever since. And with the artisans came many who, without belonging to that class, yet contrived to force themselves in, feeling justified in so doing both from the nature of the beneficent ukase itself as well as from the connivance of the Government officials, who are always ready in granting or withholding permission according to their personal inclination in the matter. Thus it came to pass that at that time, when the Government was not yet ill-disposed towards us, very many of our brethren (in consequence of the new trade and business that sprung up with the extension of railways in the country) settled in those parts even of the country which do not come within the designation of "Old Russia," and as to their right of residence in which some doubt existed. Many of these gained wealth, to the evident advantage of even the Christian residents in those towns, such, *e.g.*, as Kiev, Courland, Rostov, etc.

Thus it was until the rise of anti-Semitism, which in our country had the most disastrous effects. Starting with plundering and robbing us, it soon wrought havoc in our midst by incendiarism, by its open violence and oppression, and by its altogether nameless outrages. Its plan was to

bring about our destruction, by exciting jealousy against us, and inducing the Government to pass laws, the most cruel and intolerable, against us. The violence which the anti-Semitic agents practised against us, they themselves put forth as a proof of our guilt. The very people, that is, who incited the wild mob against us, declared that it was because of our misconduct that it acted as it did. So successful have their tactics so far proved, that the Government has actually decided to curtail our rights, few enough as they are, which it had previously granted us.

Never before has it happened, no, not to the meanest and most insignificant nationality even, in Russia—to be deprived, as we then were, of our rights, granted by Government itself. They issued against us five most oppressive decrees called "Laws in obedience to the exigencies of the time," "The May laws"—laws, which, if carried out in practice, would deprive us of our livelihood in those parts even of the country wherein we were permitted to reside,—crowded and closely packed though we were.

No Jew may leave the town, in order to go and reside in the country. Jews are forbidden to farm land from a Christian, to reside, even temporarily, in the country, and this includes even those persons who in summer are obliged to go to the country for the benefit of their health. Only those are excepted from this law who have been residents in the country any time before 1882, *i.e.*, before the issue of "The May laws." But even they may do so only in the same village which they have inhabited ever since the date of permission. Should they, however, for any reason, such as slackness of trade, leave that village, they have then forfeited their right, and are forbidden to go to any other village to earn a livelihood, even though it be again in the very village in which they possess from of old the right of living. Should the term of the lease of their house or of their land which they occupy have expired, then the owner of the same may not grant them a renewal of their lease for any period in the future. They have thus forfeited their right, and are compelled to leave the country and to settle in a town.

These five decrees consist of very many clauses and paragraphs, and all doubts arising as to their meaning are decided to our prejudice. For instance, many townlets are, by the Government officials, regarded as villages, and as such their Jewish residents will have to be expelled. Again, since these townlets are treated as villages, it naturally follows that Jews may not take refuge even in their outskirts. Well-nigh every day many questions and doubts such as these are brought before Senate.

The decree issued already by the Emperor Nicholas for the expulsion of the Jews living within a distance of 50 versts from the frontiers, never carried into effect, was in the time of the good Czar Alexander II. repealed, virtually if not actually. Now, however, they have, in their desire to expel us, enacted it again, whilst those expelled in accordance with the various "May laws," and those expelled from the 50 versts from the Austrian frontiers fled to the towns, and there followed of necessity the few trades in the hands of the townspeople resident there of old,

wealthy Christians who outnumber us, and who, possessed of all civil rights, combine in depriving us of the few trades that we follow and in possessing themselves of them, such, *e.g.*, as small shops and trades. Now, though it is the spirit of anti-Semitism that induces them thus to rob us of our livelihood, even though they are not benefited themselves, yet it is not of it that we complain, but of the Government, which, by its cruel treatment of us, would completely destroy us.

V.

The more anxious we are to do what is right, the greater are the number of false charges brought against us. Bent on depriving us of our means of support, they grow angry with us at their failure to verify their false accusations against us. For what is it they are doing? They issue against us decrees, under which it would be simply impossible to live, even one hour, and what is the result? With the love of life and the instinct of self-preservation implanted in us all, several of our brethren transgress those insufferable decrees, and then they, our enemies, charge us with breaking the laws of our country! More than forty years ago, the Government complained of our abstaining from all agricultural pursuits. If we did so, it was not because of our aversion from such occupation, but for other totally different reasons, reasons of an economic nature, inasmuch as the landowners then had the serfs, perpetual slaves, who worked for them for nothing. An ordinary farmer could, consequently, barely maintain himself, inasmuch as he could not compete with these powerful and wealthy landowners, who, as we have seen, had their work done for them without paying for it. In the year 1861, however, when the emancipation of the serfs took place, and when we Jews did, indeed, desire to buy land for cultivation—because, then, a livelihood was to be obtained from agriculture—then we were forbidden, even in the reign of Alexander II., to buy land in any of the districts in which we resided, except in two, those of Tchernigov and Poltava.

The Government, further, complained of our holding aloof from all regular education. Now, when the masses, in our country, were sunk in the lowest degree of ignorance, public schools were very few indeed in number, and the high officials devised schemes for shutting us out from them. When, however, at the command of Alexander II., both the High Schools and the Universities were thrown open to us, within a period of twenty-five years the Jews did twice as well as the Christians, both as regards the quantity and the quality of their culture. Again, it charges us with monopolizing education, asserting that there is no room in the Gymnasia and Universities for us, and has restricted our attendance at those establishments to five per cent. The very few Jews who succeed in entering the Gymnasia, and the still smaller number who, afterwards, obtain admission into the Universities and take their degrees there, are deprived of the right of making any use of their knowledge, because, according to the new laws, Jews may become neither lawyers, nor engineers, nor act as doctors in the army or in any Government post. Scores of young men, who have devoted the days of their youth and their best

powers of mind to the study of literature and the sciences, and who are filled with a desire to serve their country, are thus excluded from all and every means of obtaining a livelihood in Russia, and are reduced to want, and that for no other reason but because they are Jews.

Can any one, then, be surprised if, whilst smarting under the wrong thus done them, some of them—to the inexpressible grief of the entire community, and altogether contrary to the teachings of our religion—are led to join the Nihilists? Should the whole nation, however, be made to suffer for the misdeeds of a few individual members of it?

VI.

In the year 1883, Government appointed a Commission, at the head of which was Count Pahlen, to consider the Jewish Question in Russia. Most of its members were hostile to us. Yet, whilst thus judicially engaged and gathering information of all sorts as to our trade and business, and many things affecting the well-being of Christians (in their dealings with us), the members (according to the testimony produced by Count Sant Donato) could not help admitting that the Jews were never favoured with any special privileges without the Government and the country deriving some benefit from it. Accordingly, after considering the question, the Commission—consisting of experts—came to the following conclusion, suggested by statistics and other trustworthy evidence:

Wherever there are Jews resident, there too the Christian farmers and agriculturists thrive, drunkenness is on the decrease, wages rise, and trade is carried on satisfactorily; whereas, contrarily, where no Jews are permitted to reside, there the Christians are wretchedly poor and drunkards, the little trade that is carried on amongst the poor people is of the most objectionable character, and styled, by the Russians themselves, "the fist trade," and wages are almost nil. Therefore, to the disgust of the anti-Semites (who are very powerful), and altogether against their will, the Commission decided against curtailing our rights, and was rather in favour of increasing them, in some trades, such as the farming of lands, etc., to the advantage of the Christians, whose prosperity is bound up in ours. Our enemies, however, who are most influential, upset the Commission and its recommendation, and, disregarding the conclusion arrived at by it, namely, that the welfare of the Jews conduces to that of the Christians, they cunningly decided against any further consideration of the matter, for fear that ultimately justice might be done us, and made this proposal instead: that the Governors of the different districts be asked certain questions about us, and requested to send replies. The very way in which these questions were put to them at once suggested to them that their answers to them were to be unfavourable to us in the extreme. Accordingly, as they were required to do, so they did, giving every one of them his opinion against us. Yet these Governors, whose sole object was to hurt us, are regarded by their superiors as authorities on this matter, and their collected replies are presented to the highest quarters. On the strength of these very replies the Government decides against us, basing its decision on the

testimony of the said Governors of the different districts, and, therefore, almost day by day issues some oppressive decree against us.

VII.

It is known to us that the Government has now under its consideration forty cruel and oppressive decrees which it intends issuing against us, decrees which if, God forbid! they be really carried into effect, cannot but result in our ruin and destruction. Here are a few of them, which we give by way of example:

1. One of the questions put by the Government to the Governors of the districts was, whether it might repeal the law of 1865, a law by which permission was granted to Jewish artisans to reside in the interior of the country. Most of the Governors answered, as it was to be expected, adversely to us. In this way more than two hundred thousand Jewish families that have up to now obtained a livelihood, if but a scant one, in the interior, will be expelled thence and forced on our brethren, already oppressed and crushed, in the limits of their residence.

2. It contemplates the expulsion from the villages of all the Jews who have resided there even before 1882, and who have thus the right of residence, even according to the decrees called "The May laws." These, too, number about five hundred thousand souls.

3. We have already before stated that our brethren have settled in many towns which do not strictly form part of the interior of Russia, and that the Government itself, admitting the absolute necessity that Jews should reside in those towns, has hitherto connived. In the year 1880 the Minister Macow issued a circular stating that those Jews who had resided in those towns till then might continue doing so in the future unmolested. Now, these towns, such as Riga, Libau, Rostov, and others like them, as well as several maritime and commercial towns, are some of those best adapted for trade. Yet this concession is about to be withdrawn, which means the expulsion of half a million Jews from those towns.

4. The law as to the expulsion of the Jews from fifty versts within the frontier, has in these latter years been applied only to the Austrian frontier. Now, however, it is intended to extend it to fifty versts within all the frontiers. Another question put to the Governors of the districts by the Government was whether there was need for a supplementary decree ordering the expulsion of the Jews from a distance of one hundred versts from all the frontiers. Because, it was thought, with the extension of railways throughout the land, it might be necessary that the Jews be removed farther away from the frontiers than they were when the decree as to the fifty versts was first issued, and before the introduction of railways. What a terrible thing such an expulsion would be!

5. As regards our exemption from military service, our fate is, seemingly, sealed. For all the proofs adduced, from actual experience, to the effect that we Jews supply proportionately more soldiers to the army than the Christians, have been of no avail. Many of the higher officials, convinced by statistical evidence, admitted the truth of this. Yet the fine inflicted upon the family of one who escapes conscription is 300 roubles. What,

however, is the father to do, if his son escapes of his own accord? Is he to imprison him some days before the time arrives for his appearance before the Court? The Police would not listen to the father who should ask them to detain his son on such a charge. Again, what is the father, living in one part of the country, to do, if his son, at a distance, say, of 100 or 200 miles, runs away? Worse however remains. The officials of the town, with whom rests the right of confirming the exemption of any of our sons from military service, according to the law of the land, and of dispensing with the necessity of their providing a substitute, refuse, under any circumstances to do so, acting, doubtless, on hints received from head-quarters. Now, it is well known that those exempted from service constitute half the number of those that present themselves. As we, however, have no exemptions, it follows that we supply of our sons twice as many as do the Christians, who possess all rights, and are at liberty to reside wherever they choose. Whereas we Jews, after our term of service to the country, for which we were ready to shed our blood, has expired, are driven away from those places in which Jews are forbidden to dwell, and deprived of following any of those occupations closed to Jews. When our sons, then, see that there is no prospect for them in their native land, it is but natural that they should leave it, regardless of their parents and families. For, who would, willingly, be six years on active service, and nine years in the reserve, and yet have no civil rights whatever, but return to the ghetto and suffer hunger? Yet, it is a matter of daily occurrence, that the Government officials enforce, most heartlessly, the payment of the 300 rouble fine for escape from service [on the father of the fugitive.]

VIII.

We, the Jews of Russia and Poland, who number altogether some five million souls, feel and appreciate the truth of the observation, as will appear presently. "A prisoner cannot, unaided, release himself."

According to the laws of the country, no meeting, whatever be its purpose, charitable or communal, may be held without the sanction of the Central Authorities, to be obtained in this way: First of all, the promoters of the meeting must inform them of its object, and then when, after some delay, their sanction has been obtained, they (the promoters) must give them a full, detailed, and correct account of the proceedings of the meeting, and its results. Again, a public petition, signed by ten petitioners, must have the consent of the local Authorities, who give them permission to meet in one of the Government Offices, there to arrange the form the petition is to assume. No money, whatever its purpose, and be it the very best, may be collected without the sanction of the Government, which takes an account of the sum thus collected with its sanction, and acts as trustees. In a word, all the subjects of the Government are regarded by it as young orphans, placed under its severe guardianship. Latterly, too, on account of the Nihilists, it has been paying special attention to the execution of these laws. . . . Hampered, as we are, by special adverse legislation, all eyes watch us, so as to discover something against us; we are ever judged unfavourably, and all our movements are viewed with suspicion. A hostile

press is always on the look-out for us, and, whatever we do is, by the Government officials, received with doubt and suspicion. It is thus simply impossible for us either to hold meetings, or to collect funds, or to present petitions. We cannot even get permission for any of our number to obtain an audience of the Czar, and thus submit our case to his gracious consideration. We are thus absolutely, like incarcerated prisoners, powerless to do anything, great or small, in our behalf.

We have no Consistory of Chief Rabbis, or Heads of Congregations, who have the right and the power to speak in the name and on behalf of their people. For, ever since the charge was brought against us, by informers, that our Congregation is as a government in the midst of a government, strict watch has been kept over us by the authorities, and we, on our part again, have to be very careful that not the least suspicion should attach to us. Whilst, then, each and every one of us,—*five millions in number*,—is sadly alive to the terrible fate awaiting us, we may give expression to our grief only individually and privately, but not publicly or collectively, for even that comfort is forbidden us! We can, thus, take no counsel amongst ourselves, or present a general and united petition to the Government, and much less appear before the Czar, who, we doubt not, would do us justice, could we but approach him as children or as servants. In short, 5,000,000 Jews, resident in Russia, are in a condition in which Jews in this country have never before been in. Of this number, 2,000,000 are about to suffer a terrible expulsion and deprivation of livelihood, and then to be thrown upon their 3,000,000 brethren, who are themselves miserably poor, oppressed, and persecuted.*

We see the danger threatening us, but are powerless to avert it. Besides the impending terrible expulsion, we are likewise without any means of supporting ourselves. We are driven from our posts as notaries; thousands and tens of thousands of Jews who acted as clerks to the Government officials in the towns, and in the Government offices in the villages, have been discharged by them, in obedience to orders received from their superiors, but to their own regret, because there are no such faithful and industrious servants as the Jewish ones. Jews have been dismissed from the Post Offices, the Railways and Telegraph Offices, and from every other post under Government; nor are any Jews engaged any longer in any Government office, great or small.

Jewish lawyers are not authorized to act as such. Government buildings and contracts for the army, which have hitherto been in Jewish hands, are no longer so. Jewish artisans, of whom the supply exceeded the demand in the places inhabited by Jews, and who, consequently, suffered literally from starvation, had only one chance, and that was removal into the interior of the country; yet, if they too are to be for-

* No time is therefore to be lost. Five millions of loyal and industrious Jews are gradually being destroyed, by hunger, harrying, and cruel expulsion. It becomes, therefore, the duty of Christian and Mahammadan rulers and countries to make strong representations to the Czar.

bidden to reside there, and if thousands of such artisans are yet to be expelled from the interior, they will be compelled to work for a trifle, and trade jealousy, which works such mischief amongst the Christians, will be still more increased. Even now, there are to be found in our Jewish towns a fourth part consisting of non-Jews; and if our brethren, newly driven from the interior, should come and settle amongst us, and thus reduce the non-Jewish element to one-eighth of the entire (Jewish) population, the ill-feeling against us will be greatly intensified. For we Jews work at a low rate of wages, and they then will raise a cry against us, even as the Americans (in the United States) did against the Chinese immigrants. Then, new questions will be addressed, by the Government, to the Governors of the various districts, as to what to do, and how to reduce still more our numbers—aliens, as we are considered, ousting the native Christians!

The official death-rate statistics alone prove "the truth about the Russian persecution of the Jews." The over-crowding of Jews in "the pale" and other measures alluded to in the above letters, have rendered their mortality double that of Christians. Elsewhere, their mortality is much below that of Christians, as Dr. J. Beddoe has shown, owing to their observances regarding food and their general morality. Indeed, their comparative immunity from epidemics is as remarkable as is the absence of crime among them. As Sir R. N. Fowler remarked at the Guildhall meeting, the prosperity of London is largely due to Jews; and, indeed, there is no country which has not benefited by their presence. Spain is still suffering from the mistake of turning them out; and their expulsion from Russia must be followed by disastrous results to a country which requires more, not less, hands to work in its fields, and more, not less, brains to completely emerge from barbarism.

ARGUS.

THE ITALIANS IN AFRICA.

It is a long story already, and perhaps not a very amusing one. It was in October, 1869, that the Chambers of Commerce, assembled in Genoa, proposed to the Italian Government to establish somewhere in the Red Sea a centre of commerce and of transit. T. Sapeto, a professor, had previously written on that project; and the King Victor Emmanuel, I am told, was favourable to it. The Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, Count Menabrea, gave to Sapeto himself the commission to choose the place. He bought from the Sultas of Baheita, Berehan, the Bay of Assab and the isle Darmakié (Darmabah). They cost 47,000 fr. (1,800 pounds). The Government gave the money; and Rubattino, a clever Genoese, an ardent patriot, and a director of a Steam Navigation Company, on the 11th of March, 1870, paid it; and upon stakes, solidly fixed at the north and south limits of the territory, were nailed two tablets with this inscription: "*Property Rubattino, bought the 11th of March*, 1870."

A dispute then arose. On the first of June the Egyptian Government protested against the Italian occupation, which it called arbitrary, and invited the Italian Government to leave. The Italian Government answered, that it decidedly considered itself in the right, that Assab was not subject either to the sovereignty of the Porte or to the administration of the Khedive, and that it would, at the proper moment, act as circumstances might require. So wrote the Foreign Minister, Visconti Venosta, the 15th of April, 1871, to our Consul in Egypt, Sig. de Meretino, ably insinuating at the same time that it would be useful, not only to the economical, but also to the political interests of Egypt, to have in the Red Sea an Italian establishment, that would

be a guarantee of the just equilibrium which Egypt must naturally desire. So early did the Italian Government show behind the commercial aim a political one.

The Egyptian Government, however, was not easy to convince; on the contrary, it showed itself heartily convinced that the Italian Government was wrong, by the appointment of a Swiss, Mr. Mutzinger, to the governorship of Massawa, whose province it extended as far as Berbere, beyond the Red Sea, more than two hundred miles from Assab, along the coast. It was clear that the Khedive was bent on assuring to himself all the coast thus far; and on the conquest of the country of the Somali and the Danakih, to which the internal dissensions of Abyssinia gave him a great opportunity.

The Italian Government preferred to hold its peace; to do at Assab nothing at all, and to advise Rubattino to enlarge his maritime undertakings towards the extreme East. Thus things remained till the last months of 1879; when the Rubattino Company decided to take up again the scheme of eight years ago. It was backed by the Government; or, rather, it must be said, that the Government was, for the first time, behind the Company. It was thought that the Zeila route had not been found a good pass to Inner Abyssinia, and that the Assab route would be the best. But when this design transpired, the Italians found arrayed against it, not only the Egyptian, but also the English, Government. Lord Salisbury was then Foreign Secretary; and these are the words which (after many conversations held in Rome between the English Ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget, and the Foreign Italian Minister, Sig. Cairoli, without any result), Lord Salisbury said to our *Chargé d'affaires* in London: "Certainly, if it is a question of a commercial undertaking, we shall regard it with sympathy; but it is of consequence to us that it should have no political import. The Red Sea is our way of communication with India. The Red Sea is our *corde sensible.* If it is only a question of a

commercial undertaking, the Egyptian Government and the Rubattino Company will find it easy to come to an understanding." The *Chargé d'affaires* adds that his Lordship talked in a very courteous and kind, but very firm, tone. He knew the question.

The Italian Government could not agree with him. I will not transcribe here Cairoli's and Lord Salisbury's despatches, which can be read in the Italian "Green Book" of 1882, and in the "English Correspondence respecting Assab Bay" (Egypt, p. 15), of the same year. The point at issue was always this: the Italian Government asserted that the Sultan Berehan was the only and the true proprietor of the territories which he had sold; and the English Government, in its own name and on behalf of Egypt, asserted that they formed part, *undoubtedly*, of the Ottoman dominions, and were comprehended in the Khedivat of Egypt. Worthy of notice are the following words, which Lord Salisbury wrote on the 7th of February, 1880, to Sir A. Paget, answering the contrary assertion of the Italian Foreign Under-secretary of State: "In 1866 a new firman was delivered by the Porte to the Khedive of Egypt, according to which the Caimacamy [lieutenancy] of Massawa was comprehended in the possessions pertaining to the Viceroy; and no one ever entertained a doubt about the fact, that the Bay of Assab forms part of that Caimacamy." *

The 8th of April, 1880, the Egyptian Government appointed a governor for the *whole coast of the Red Sea*; and the English Government sent to Assab the British consul of Jeddah. That was a proof to Cairoli that the two Governments acted by mutual consent; and he hoped that he would find a better disposition in Lord Granville, who had succeeded to Lord Salisbury, when the administration of W. E. Gladstone took a second time the place of that of the Earl of Beaconsfield (28th of April, 1880). We had been such warm friends the first time.

* I must retranslate from the Italian translation, for I have not the English text.

And Cairoli lost no time. On the 8th of June, Count Menabrea, the Italian ambassador, went to Lord Granville, presented a memorandum to him, and asked his opinion. Unhappily, the opinion of Lord Granville was quite the same as that of his predecessor; but he added that he would study the question.

Pending this study, the Italian Government began to advance little by little. It was very anxious not to offend the English Government, not to do anything which would be displeasing to it; but it wished to do something. In August, 1880, it communicated to the English Government, that it thought it advisable to establish a civil commissariat at Assab, absolutely civil, without any tinge of military organization and powers. Lord Granville did not make any objection; he would answer later on.

Meanwhile, the civil commissary was not appointed; and the answer came on the 26th of January, 1881. It was always the same. The thorough study to which Lord Granville had devoted himself had confirmed him in the opinion that the territories in question must belong directly to the Porte, and to the Khedive under its high sovereignty. In any case, he was satisfied with the categorical and decided declaration of Sig. Cairoli, that never would any Italian Government establishment be formed in Assab possessing a military character, and that never should troops or fortifications be maintained, either on the mainland or in the islands of the Bay.

Lord Granville's letter appeared to be a flat refusal, but it was not one. If a military establishment was not allowed, a commercial one was no longer objected to. The civil commissary, then, could be sent. He was sent in the month of March, with the precise instruction to do no act which *might offend the susceptibility of any Power*. Lord Granville was informed of that move, and did not raise any objection. The declarations about the nature of the Italian establishment were repeated; but when Sig. Cairoli asked Lord Granville to permit him to proclaim in both Houses of

Parliament that the Italian Government was assured of the moral countenance of the English in its action, as limited and defined, about Assab, Lord Granville refused the permission. It was, he wrote to Sir A. Paget, quite a different thing to give this assurance; it would put the Egyptian Government in a false position, and would be contrary to the language constantly held.

And here Sig. Cairoli ends. He was overthrown (29th of May, 1881) by the unfavourable impression caused throughout Italy, owing to the French invasion of Tunis. He was thought to be an incompetent Foreign Minister and easy to circumvent. Sig. de Petris, who succeeded him as Prime Minister, was a very prudent man. Sig. Mancini, who became Foreign Secretary, was a very clever lawyer, but nothing more. He was not satisfied with the condition of things at Assab. It appeared to him that the English authorities of Aden were not pleased with it. He proposed, on the 11th of June, to Lord Granville, that the two Governments should agree upon a *modus vivendi*. This agreement, he said, on the one hand would be a guarantee for lawful English interests; on the other, it would convince the Italian establishment of the favour of English officers and of the Government of the Queen.

Before that proposal of Sig. Mancini was made, there had happened,—though he did not know it as yet,—a terrible misfortune. Sig. Giulietti, Secretary of the Assab Civil Commissary, Sig. Biglieri, lieutenant of the Royal navy, and twelve Italian boatmen and travellers, who started from Beilul, an Egyptian port not far north from Assab and garrisoned by Egyptian troops, with the design to find a route into Abysinia, were murdered by the natives at a distance from the coast of four or five days' journey. The official news of this butchery reached Sig. Mancini on the 13th of June. He did not profit perhaps, as he might have done, by this untoward event, to better the position of the Italian Government at Assab. He asked the Egyptian Government to find and to punish the murderers. The

Egyptian Government found and punished nobody. It did not even admit in the judicial commission of inquiry an Italian commissary, as Sig. Mancini desired; and the Egyptian Foreign Minister, having received a statement from the Italian civil Commissary at Assab, said to our vice-consul, that he did not know such an office, and that the Government of His Highness could not allow a foreign officer on his territory with the powers which were implied in the title of *Civil Commissary*. Lord Granville also showed himself more favourable to the Egyptian Government than to the Italian.

And it was worse some days after. The Egyptians showed they had the project of landing some troops at Raheita. This unhappy place was not yet Italian; but was on the borders of the Italian territory. The celebrated Berehan was also the proprietor of it, according to the Italian view, and an independent sovereign. Therefore, the Italian Government would not permit the Egyptian troops to land. An enterprising Italian Commander, Sig. Frigerio, who was there with an armed steamship, took upon himself to hinder the landing by force, if it should be attempted. An English intervention was invoked by the Italian Foreign Minister. It was assented to. During the two last years the Italian policy had quite agreed with the English one in all European questions; and the relations between the two Governments were excellent. But Lord Granville, although he advised Egypt not to make any move at Raheita, did not compromise himself on the main question; Egypt complied, but was out of humour. The Italian claims, it thought, were a constant threat to the financial and political interests of Egypt; because, if the Italians should succeed in their aim to enter into commercial communications with Abyssinia, the most important items of importation would be guns, which proved to be perfectly true, though only at a later period, and the Italians have paid very dearly for it.

When Egypt gave up the landing of troops at Raheita,

its ministry was no longer the same. Sherif Pasha had become the Prime Minister (14th September) instead of Fakhri Pasha. The *coup d'Etat* of Araby Bey had been the cause of the change. The new minister was more favourable to the Italian claims than the old. But, notwithstanding his better disposition, neither Egypt nor Turkey consented to agree to the convention, which was at last stipulated between the English and the Italian Governments about the *modus vivendi* at Assab; although the second article of it ruled that the Italian Government acknowledged, so far as it could, the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte and of Egypt over the remainder of the occidental coast of the Red Sea, *to the south as well as to the north of Assab, and engaged itself not to extend the actual limits of the Assab territory.** The Sultan Berehan was guaranteed against any difficulty which might come to him from without, on account of his engagements with the Italian Government; but on condition that he should not attempt to make any other alienation of territory. A curious convention, indeed, and which could not be expected to be observed! The Italian Government, which, according to the English view, had not till now had any regard for the *undoubted* rights of Turkey and of Egypt, pledged itself to respect those same rights for the future, even if an occasion for violating them usefully could be found!

It is evident that the English Government had slackened its defence of these same rights, in order to get some service from the Italian Government. If the service was, to be aided in its Egyptian scrape, it was mistaken. When, after the refusal of France, it addressed itself, on the 27th

* It was composed of (1) a zone six miles wide from Ras Dermah to Ras Lumah. (2) A zone two miles wide from Ras Lumah to Sheik Duran. (3) A zone four miles wide from Sheik Duran to Ras Shyethar. (4) The island of Sannabor, opposite the Ras Lumah. (5) The islands adjacent to the coast, and contained within the parallel lines of Ras Lumah and Ras Shyethar.

of July 1882, to the Italian Government and asked it for a military co-operation in Egypt, Sig. Mancini refused it. He thought that it was much better not to part from the European concert, and to remain faithful to the French device of a conference of all the powers at Constantinople. England had to fight alone. On the 13th of September Lord Wolseley gained the day, and Arabi Pasha, soon after, was a prisoner. It was the second time—the first in 1878—that England had invited Italy to co-operate with her in a common interest, and Italy lost the opportunity. Lord Granville resented it; and when Sig. Mancini on the 28th asked the English Government to communicate to him its ideas about the re-organization of Egypt, Lord Granville replied, that he would not comply with this wish. Italy has remained since then, and is now, quite a stranger to Egyptian affairs. Sig. Crispi, who in July was in England and called on Lord Granville, was greatly astonished at the policy of Sig. Mancini, but he could not amend it.

Our colonial enterprise remained meantime at a stand-still. The law of the 5th of July, 1882, had organized Assab into a colony. It was the first time that our Parliament intervened in colonial policy, and was called upon to sanction it. Till then many interpellations had been made to the Foreign Ministers about their schemes and the difficulties and dangers of them; but no vote of money had been taken. Generally, it may be said, that no enthusiasm for African conquests was shown. In the same year, and by a convention annexed to the law, the Assab territory was transferred to the Italian Government by the Rubattino Company, to which it had seemingly belonged till then, for over £16,000. Very probably Italy would not have gone further if England had not, in September 1884, decided to rescue General Gordon, shut up by the Mahdists in Khartoum. But how and why England's decision moved Sig. Mancini to enlarge our Red Sea possessions, is not quite clear.

The fact is, that the 17th of January, 1885,—a year which

the colonial expansion abettors called the year of boldness, *l' anno dell' ardimento*—a little expeditionary corps sailed from Naples. Some days after, another followed. It was said that they made for Assab; but really the troops were landed first at Beilul, which territory was proclaimed in the name of the King and of Italy to be Italian territory (25th of January), and afterwards (the 5th of February) at Massawa, with the same effect. The Egyptian garrison of Beilul—fifty men—was sent to Massawa; but here the Egyptian troops were not withdrawn; and by the express declaration of the Italian commander, the Egyptian flag was left by the side of the Italian.

Lord Granville was acquainted with the Italian move. Some uncertainty about its aim was maintained for some time, owing to another unlucky event; the murder of Gustavo Bianchi and his escort on October, 1884, near the country of the Mavaja tribe. It might be believed, that the Italians this time were determined on themselves avenging their brethren. But Lord Granville knew the truth. He thought that the insurrection of the Mahdi, which had forced Egypt to withdraw its troops from the Sudán, and to leave its garrisons in many towns of the country in extreme danger of being taken and murdered, rendered it powerless to keep its ports on the coast of the Red Sea. He would have preferred that Turkey should have garrisoned them. But Turkey, which was thoroughly convinced of its sovereignty on that coast, and which loudly proclaimed that right, was deaf to every incitement to exert it. England herself was unwilling to act for it; she had too much to do. Better, then, that Italy, which was very desirous to meddle, should supply its place. If Italy did not, would not France step in? Would that not be worse for English interests? In this same year, 1884, the French, who had bought Obock since 1862, were bestirring themselves to make more of it than they had attempted till then, to master the Somali coast, and especially the ports of Berbera, Zeile, and Tadjura—all places, which, although

on that side of the Strait of Bab-el-mandeb, were not less the *corde sensible* of England than places on this side.

Only Turkey protested against the occupations of Beilul and Massawa, which she proclaimed to be her own. But France also was not content; it remarked to the English Government that there was a violation of the 7th article of the Treaty of Paris (30th May, 1856), by which all the signatory powers had engaged to respect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. It was clear, I think, that the Italian Government did not respect either that integrity or international law; but it was clear also, that the French Government would have done the same, and its only regret was, that it would have preferred to do itself what the Italians had done. It is worth noting, that France did not care for the Italian occupation of Assab; it said at the time, that no French interest was touched by it. It now appeared to change. I do not think I am wrong in supposing that in March, 1870, the friendly relations with Italy made it appear desirable to allow the establishment of another power in the Red Sea; and in 1885, the relations, grown unfriendly, made it appear undesirable that this other power should be Italy.

Still, even if the objections of France were not sincere, neither must it be said that the Italian appropriations of Beilul and Massawa can be defended from the point of view of international law, or even of the 34th article of the Conference of Berlin, signed by Italy and the other powers on the 26th of February, 1885, some days after these appropriations. Beilul and Massawa were not the property of nobody, nor of an unorganized and unacknowledged State, nor of a barbarous and savage tribe; they were undoubtedly Turkish and Egyptian; and the garrisons, regularly sent to keep them, were perfectly able to defend them and were perfectly safe, should they want to go away. Since it was so, there was something insincere and false in the motives which Sig. Mancini advanced to explain his con-

duct; and evidently we had no right or occasion to go to maintain public order in the Red Sea, as was said.

Be that as it may, the English Government, in its anxiety to save the Egyptian garrisons of many Sudan towns which the Mahdists threatened to take and to murder, had, on the 6th of June 1884, made a treaty with John, Negus of Abyssinia, which guaranteed to him freedom of transit for all the goods,—arms, ammunitions inclusive,—which should be imported into Abyssinia or exported from it; and returned to him the country of the Bogos, which had been, it appears, his own, with all the buildings belonging to Egyptians which were therein, and the provisions and munitions contained in them. The Negus, on his part, obliged himself to facilitate the withdrawal through Abyssinia, of the Egyptian garrisons of Kassala, Ameadib, and Sanhit. This treaty, which has been more faithfully observed by the Negus than by England, is the key-stone of all that followed.

The Italians were now at Massawa; and then? It is pretty sure that Sig. Mancini had gone there in the hope that it would be the starting-point of what he called an expedition parallel to the English one, which, with Lord Wolseley as its chief, descended from Egypt to Khartoum. Italian soldiers would march also to Khartoum from Massawa through Kassala, or perhaps would stop at Kassala. Our Foreign Minister did not know, it appears, what a distance they would have to traverse before reaching it. His official newspaper wrote that it was not far. In reality there are from Massawa to Kassala through Keren more than 285 miles. Be that as it may, it appears that the English had made no agreement with the Italian Government with regard to that or any other march; but it would have been glad if the march to Kassala had been undertaken. It was not; and when the English expedition failed, and,—Gordon having been murdered, and Khartoum taken (5th January, 1886),—Lord Wolseley retraced his steps, the offer of the Italian Government to co-operate in a

new attempt of conquering the Soudan, was kindly rejected. England had resolved not to reconquer the Soudan.

So the Italians remained at Massawa with only two hopes. The one was, that they would be friends of Abyssinia; the other, that they would be called by England to Suakin, and take her place there. The two hopes faded away, one after the other. In order to be on friendly terms with Abyssinia, the military Italian authorities were directed to announce to the Negus that the Massawa port would be completely free to Abyssinian commerce, and that his subjects in the port and its neighbourhood would be protected, and could trade as they liked. But there were many reasons for not having much confidence in the acquiescence of Abyssinia to the Italian occupation of Massawa. This port had not been given to it by the Hewett treaty of 1884; but Abyssinia had always wished to have it, as its own rightful and best opening to the Red Sea. That it had so long been detained by Turkey and Egypt, had not lessened either its right or its wish. The Italians had occupied it without giving notice to the Negus. Many of their enemies, Frenchmen, Greeks, and others, surrounded him. Signs of his wrath were quickly seen. They became more marked when the Italians began to expand beyond Massawa, in the territory which, as Signor Mancini explained, would constitute the circle of activity in that place. This territory Abyssinia firmly believed to be its own by ancient rights and by the recent treaty. Were Turks and Egyptians to be sent away after so many centuries, to put Italians in their stead? Meanwhile, the Italians occupied, on the 10th of April, the little Arufali village, about forty-one miles south of Massawa; and on the 21st, Arkiko, almost seven miles south-east from it; they had previously occupied Monkullo and Otumlo, and on the 26th of April they wrote to the Negus that they would very soon occupy Sauti, fifteen miles west, and Amba at little more than twenty-four miles from Massawa. Many of these villages had Egyptian garrisons who were very quietly

sent home. But the Negus, to whom the Italians gave the news of their proceedings in very courteous words, and with warm protestations of their amity and their excellent intentions for the safety of the roads and the protection of commerce—the Negus, I say, was not influenced by such words. The Italians very soon saw that the Abyssinians would not let them carry on their schemes without a trial of strength.

Regarding Suakin, the declaration of Lord Hartington, on the 11th of May, revived Signor Mancini's spirits. Lord Hartington said, that the English Ministry would not evacuate Suakin until there was established an agreement about the possession of it with some other civilized power. The Foreign Italian Minister thought the noble Lord meant Italy; he knew later on, that Turkey was meant. Whatever may have been the negotiations about Suakin between Lord Granville and Signor Mancini, it does not appear that they agreed even when they seemed to agree. These negotiations came to an end when, on the 11th of June, the Gladstone ministry resigned; and Signor Mancini outlived it by only six days. He was overthrown, killed by the uncertainty of his Red Sea coast policy, of which, among high hopes, and petty, but dangerous results, the country, which on several occasions had been full of enthusiasm or depression about it, was at a loss to understand what his aim had been or was. He himself spoke of it, at one time, as a very modest undertaking; another time, as a very important and far-reaching political enterprise. The Italians, his friends said, would find at Massawa the keys of the Mediterranean Sea; but in the meanwhile they were on the point of finding the Abyssinian guns and pikes.

It is as difficult to admire the policy of Count Robilant, who, from the Embassy of Vienna, was called very reluctantly to the Foreign Ministry at Rome. He did not approve of the African policy of his predecessor when Ambassador; but he did not amend it as Minister. Whether Lord Salisbury, who succeeded Mr. Gladstone as

Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, resumed the parley with the Italian Government about a march to Kassala, is a moot point. I do not think he did; and in any case the fall of Kassala (29th July) broke it up. Meanwhile, the irritation of the Negus against Italy was increasing, and it was very natural, for Santi had, according to the notice given, been occupied; and on the 5th of June, the most lovely island Galhere-el-Rebi, and afterwards Emberemi and Merkulillè; and the Italian protectorate had been proclaimed at all the most important points of the coast for a distance of about 300 miles. So, when an Egyptian messenger came in August to Ras Alula, the governor of the Negus, in Asmara, to press him to hasten the promised relief of Kassala, the Ras was found to be very furious. . . . Why do you not drive away the Italians from Massawa? Why must they stay there? Why have you permitted them to camp at Santi? No; I will not take a step to disengage Kassala before seeing what the military Massawa authorities have done at Santi!" Some days after, on the 7th of September, the Italian commander of Massawa wrote to the Negus that in November an Italian embassy would go to him to negotiate a treaty as favourable as possible to the interests of Abyssinia. Ras Alula appeared to be tranquillized, and marched to succour Kassala when it was too late.

Count Robilant in the House, on the 5th of December, said proudly: "No, gentlemen; wherever our flag is hoisted, if the national honour is engaged, it will never be struck." He believed then, that the national honour was engaged at Massawa; although he believed also with Sig. Depretis, his Chief, that Massawa and Assab were to be no more than two commercial centres, not bases of military operations, and that they were enough. In any case he went further than his predecessor had gone. He sent to Massawa a general instead of the colonel who had commanded there till then. He gave him the command of the forces by land and sea, and the superior direction of

all the public services, whatever were their central administration—while for these "services" the general should correspond with their respective administrations, he would be dependent on the Foreign Office for the direction which was to be given to questions of a general character, the solution of which could in any way have a political interest. One of the first achievements of General Genè—such was his name—was to take down at Massawa the Egyptian flag, which had remained till then hoisted near the Italian one. This was done on the 2nd of December. The 180 Egyptian soldiers were sent away, and the Egyptian authorities deprived of every public function. It was believed that there was an agreement between Italy and England; but it was not so.

Count Robilant knew that the Negus was in reality much more vexed than ever. In October, 1885, the Negus had written to Queen Victoria, complaining that the Italians, instead of facilitating the transit of merchandise, hindered it, and had besides usurped territories which, although not acknowledged till then as Abyssinian, were yet contested and not occupied by other powers. He also reproached England for not having fulfilled the pacts of 1884 on her part, whilst he on his had fulfilled them. About the same time, perhaps, the Negus wrote to one of the kings dependent on him, the most powerful of all, King Menelik of Schoa, a letter which Count Robilant got nearly a year and a half after, and read in the Senate the 7th July, 1887. The letter was very contemptuous towards the Italians, "who come here for ambition's sake, for aggrandizing themselves, because they are too many at home and they are not rich. Thou must shut the sea way, and not permit any one to pass either by Aussa or by Cianciar. . . . As Adam wished to taste the forbidden apple for the ambition of becoming greater than God, and, instead, only found punishment and dishonour, so will it happen to the Italians."

The punishment came on the 29th of January, 1887.

The Italians had occupied for some time Sahati. It was perhaps the place which, according to the Negus, should remain neutral. In the first days of the year they occupied Uaà also; and General Genè sent regular soldiers to the two places, instead of the irregular ones, the *Bashi-bozuks*, who had held them till then. The Minister of War, General Ricotti, had stated his opinion to Count Robilant, that from a military point of view it would be better not to remain at Sahati; but Count Robilant thought from a political point of view that it was necessary to remain. But neither he nor General Genè had the least idea of the forces which Italy wanted there, if it was to be safe from danger. Count Robilant said in the House very scornfully, that we had no cause to fear *quattro predoni*, four robbers. Ras Alula intimated on the 12th January to General Genè, in his picturesque style, that he had to recall his troops from Uaà; on the 15th, General Genè had answered that on the contrary he would reinforce them. Consequently it was not astonishing nor out of order, that on the 25th of January, Ras Alula attacked Sahati with many thousand Abyssinians; and not having been able to storm the small fort which the Italians had constructed there, the day after he assailed, on the plain of Dogali, half-way between Sahati and Mirinillo, a little corps of some three hundred men,* which went to the first place to victual it. The Italians behaved heroically, fought fiercely; but after many hours of combat were all killed or wounded. We had to evacuate Sahati, Uaà, and Arafali. Ras Alula, who had suffered heavy losses, withdrew, without doing anything more, to his mountains.

The emotion at home was profound. The Ministry was on the point of falling, and really was so weakened, that on the 4th of April, Sig. Depretis had to partially change it, substituting in the Ministry of War General Bertolè-Viale

* Three companies with reinforcements of two others, two mitrailleuses, two companies of *bashi-bozuks*.

for General Ricotti, in the Foreign Office himself for Count Robilant, and Sig. Crispi in the Interior, which he had himself occupied for six years uninterruptedly. Meanwhile General Genè was recalled (18 March); the Ministry of War replaced the Foreign Office in the direction of all Massawa affairs (17 April). Italy, which had come to the Red Sea coast to be the friend of Abyssinia, was now its enemy; the two countries were at war.

I will not narrate this war, nor the English attempts to make peace. England said that the Abyssinians were also her friends; but they were now friends who had a deadly feud with other friends about whom she cared more. Her attempts failed; but the war went on without fighting. The Abyssinians and the Italians were enemies who could not reach each other. The Abyssinians remained, like eagles, on their high table-lands; the Italians on the plain and on the sea. The Italian Government notified to the Powers the blockade of the coast of the Red Sea from Aufile to a point opposite to the island of Dufren. It obtained from Lord Salisbury (May, 1887) that the limit north of its supervision should be at Ras Kasar (18 2′ N. lat.), which remained the northern point of the coast belonging to Italy. But the blockade was not very injurious or alarming to Abyssinia. A more serious impression must have been made on it by the twenty thousand men who, commanded by Lieutenant-General San Marzano, a very clever and prudent officer, occupied anew, step by step, all the places of the plain, and who, furnished as they were with all the modern and most perfect implements of war, deterred the Negus from attempting any attack. On the 28th of March he offered peace; on the 3rd of April he broke off the negotiations and withdrew. Rebellions among his dependent kings called him back. But he was a strong man. He conquered one—the king of Guggiam—and most probably he would have conquered, as he had done so terribly once before, the king of Shoa Menelik, if he had not been obliged to turn against the Mahdists. These

enemies of his faith and of his country attacked him, on the frontier of the Galubat, where, on the 10th of March, near Metemmah, they vanquished and murdered him. He fought and died as a hero.

With him, the only obstacle to the expansion of the Italian dominions on that side was removed. The good fortune to have him so driven away happened to Sig. Crispi, who, after the death of Sig. Depretis on the 29th of July, was Prime Minister from the 7th of August, 1887. He had now before him a dead enemy and a distracted country. He used his advantages prudently; but he who had not been very fond of the enterprise when it was begun, thought now that the opportunity of assuring its success ought not to be lost. The expenses of the war of 1888 had been very heavy for the Italian budget. The greater part of the army had been recalled home, after the withdrawal of the Negus. Italy counted now, in order to assure its possessions, on the embarrassments of the Negus and the amity of the King of Shoa; and since this amity, whose first germs were very ancient, did not exert itself very effectually, it was on the internal condition of Abyssinia that more hope could be placed. Notwithstanding this, no attempt was made to advance further than the plain near Massawa, which had been the prize contested for up to that time, till the death of the Negus. Only on the 10th of June, Italian troops occupied Keren, the chief town of the Bogos, of which much had been heard, as an admirable residence in the warm season, 1300 metres above the sea level, and little more than 103 miles from Massawa. The 3rd of August they reached the high table-land, at Asmara, a military post 2,830 metres above the sea level, and little more than fifty-four miles from Massawa. They garrisoned it, spreading themselves over many small places near it. There was no fighting. So, without any effort, and bloodlessly, Italy forced the door of the Tigré, the Abyssinian region where poor Negus John was born, and which, I think, by the character of its inhabitants and by

its natural features, is the stronghold of this most ancient and most eventful realm. Here was the end. The march on Adere, the chief town of Tigré, some 124 miles from Asmara, which an enterprising General undertook in the January of this year, with 1,600 Italian soldiers and 4,000 natives, was not approved by the Government, and had to be retraced.

Meanwhile, King Menelik, who declared himself, soon after the death of the Negus, as his rightful successor, made a treaty on the 2nd of May with Italy. The negotiator of this treaty was Count Antonelli, to whom it was due that Menelik had lately remained on good, if not very actively useful terms with the Italians. In this treaty, two articles are worth noticing: the 17th, by which King Menelik, who already entitles himself throughout King of Kings, *Negus Negest*, of Ethiopia, agrees to conduct all affairs which he might have with other Powers or Governments, through the Italian Government; and the 3rd, by which the frontier between Ethiopia and the Italian dominion is fixed. This frontier would be: (1) the line of the table-land; (2) coming from the Arafali region, Haleri, Saganeit and Asmara to be Italian villages: (3) on the part of the Bogos, Adi Nefas and Adi Yoannes to be Italian. (4) From Adi Yoannes a right line from east to west to mark the Italian-Ethiopic border. This frontier was not quite what the Italian Government had desired, but it was the best and the largest which Count Antonelli could obtain from King Menelik. In some notes commenting on the treaty, Count Antonelli says, that the King was very obstinate in advocating the line of the table-land as the line of frontier between the two peoples; and of every place which was mentioned to him, he always asked whether it was within that line or outside it.

He did not know the Tigré, he said; and he wished not to know it. He was a good while waited for at Adua, but he did not come. He sent a great embassy to Italy in June, of which Deginsmare Maconeu was the Chief, and

which was received with great honours and magnificence throughout Italy. Maconeu brought the treaty, and King Humbert on the 27th of September ratified it. But another convention was added on the 1st of October. By this the Ethiopian King agreed that the frontier fixed by the treaty should be rectified on the basis of actual possession, and the Italian Government guaranteed to him a loan of £80,000 with the National Italian Bank. Meanwhile Menelik, who left the Tigré to two Ras, one of whom was the nephew and the natural heir of the dead Negus, retraced his steps, and on the 3rd of November he was crowned King of Kings at Entoto, very far from Adua, in his own ancient kingdom of Shoa.

Now, one great question remained, but only one. The delineation of the frontier was to be made by a commission composed of two Italians and two Abyssinians. But, if in the convention of October it was thought necessary to return to the question of the frontier, and to put the *uti possidetis* as its basis, it was because the Italians already occupied more than was conceded to them in the treaty. Really, the military authorities thought that what had been obtained was not enough. The defence of the Italian possessions would not be easy or possible with such confines! Italy wanted the whole Hamassen; and an afterthought gave a better counsel: it wanted the line Mureb-Belesa-Muna. The result has been, that the commission of the four delegates has not yet been assembled, and it is not known when it will begin its work.

In the Colonial expansion of Italy, the same is seen that England, I believe, has so frequently experienced in far greater proportions. There is a fate which draws them further and further; and the military authorities, which have necessarily the defence of the Colonies, and cannot be sufficiently ruled and moderated by the authorities at home, conduct the fate. I do not think that this fate will cease to urge on Italy; I think it will continue to do so; and now, to many Italians, it seems that Kassala must be

theirs, and many are still hoping that England will leave to them Suakin!

For the moment, all the Italian possessions on the coast of the Red Sea and the land behind it, are united under a single farfetched name: the Erythrean colony. The invention belongs to Sig. Crispi; it is sanctioned by a decree of the 1st of January of last year. By it the civil and military Governor unites in himself the administration of the colony and the command of the forces by land and sea. Three Civil Counsellors aid him, one for the interior affairs, another for finance and public works, a third for agriculture and commerce. The Italian coast reaches from Ras-Kasar (18° 2′ lat. N.) to the southern confine of the settlement of Ruheita, not very far from the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb; that is, nearly three hundred and forty miles. But not everywhere along this line are the Italians masters; in some parts of it they are only protectors. Masters they are at Massawa along the sea from the mouth of the Lebka to the Bay Hanaquil, and inland to the north and the west as far as the country of the Habob, the Murea and the Beni-Amer, to the south as far as Ethiopia; here it embraces the countries of the Bogos and of the Mensas, the northern part of the Tigrè, the north-east side from the ridge of the tableland down to the seashore of Massawa and to the gulf of Adulis, this gulf itself, and the archipelago of the Dular. Masters they are also at Assab, Beilul, and Gubby, from the bay at Beheta to the Ras Sintiar (12° 51′ lat. N.). But they are protectors only of the countries of the Habob, the Murea, and the Beni-Amer, from Ras-Kasar to the mouth of the Lebka to the north of Mussawa, and to the south of the Sultanate of Aussa or country and coast of the Dunakil from the bay Hanaquil as far as the salt-works of Beheta; protectors also of the settlement of Ruheita from the Ras Sintiar to the French possession Obock. The first protectorate proclaimed has been that on the territory of Ruheita in 1881; then that of the Dankali coast in

June, 1885; that on the Habob followed in June, 1887; on the Murea, in January, 1888; and on the Beni-Amer and Ausen in December of the same year. It is an extension of nearly 200,000 square kilom.; and counts a population of nearly 400,000. On that side of the settlement of Ruheita France owns Obock and the Bay of Tadjura: England Zeila, and Berbera, and further, as far as the 55° long. E. Then, as far as Cape Guardafui, and, turning it, as far as Cape Bedouin or Bowen, live many yet independent, neither conquered nor protected Midjutine tribes. At the last Cape begins anew the Italian coast. From it as far as the Cape Auad the dominion of the coast was ceded in 1889 to Italy by the Sultan of the Midjutines, who moreover obliged himself not to sell to any other Power any part of his territories. From the Cape Auad as far as 2° 30′ lat. N. stretches the Sultanate of Oppia; and over it, and the subsequent tract as far as Kismajo, 20′ lat. S., Italy proclaimed, later on in the same year, its protectorate with the easy method of the Conference of Berlin. Five stations on this line—Barava, Merka, Mogodoxo, Harsheik, and Kismayu—belonged to the Sultan of Zanzibar, and they have been let by him, the four first to Italy, the last to Italy and England together. So on the Oriental coast of Africa Italy owns a line of 807 miles. Somali tribes dwelt and dwell along the coast and inland, but we do not know precisely how far, and Italy has not tried to know.

I have thought that in this article, which I have been asked to write, and which may be the first of many, it would be proper to interest my readers in the genesis of the Italian African Empire, so much larger and so much less peopled than the mother-country, and the only one which it possesses beyond its natural confines. There would be many other questions of which to treat, and some not merely Italian, because this fever of colonial expansion has not affected Italy only, but Germany also, and, old already in France and England, it has quickly grown in intensity

with them. The fever springs from two misconceptions: the one, that what does not belong to an European power belongs to nobody; the other, that the right of the European powers clearly arises from the need of their people for new markets. Another pretext, I dare say, is that they have the duty, the express duty, of civilizing the barbarous and savage part of humanity; but history shows that where they do not find a people civilized before their arrival, as the English in India, they are only able to annihilate and to kill, or, at the best, to create in conjunction with the natives a very troubled condition of affairs.

But, as regards Italy, there is, one may say, a question which touches her only. Her empire has a double character: on this side of the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, it is military; on the other side, it is commercial. I do not mean by this distinction that the northern portion has no commercial aim, or that in the southern the commercial aim has hitherto been effective or developed. I wish only to note that in the northern part Italy keeps now 4,400 Italian soldiers, and enlists 5,700 indigenous troops—Arab or Abyssinian; and it is very probable that circumstances may arise when she will need many more. I think that she will. It is not possible that, placed as she is among Arab Mussulman tribes, Christian Abyssinian devotees, and fanatic Mahdists or Dervishes, she should be already at the end of her troubles and can hope to live henceforth in peace. It would be quite extraordinary if Abyssinia should settle down for ever or for a long time in her present situation, and that the Tigrè should be content to be ruled from Shoa. No one imagines that Menelik will be during many years able to reign undisturbed; there is nothing of the strong man in him; and it is not even quite sure that he is now satisfied with the Italian friendship. It must be added, that Italy has not found there any faithful friends; and all the natives in whom the Massava commanders believed that they could rely have betrayed them. Certainly the Italian soldier

can vanquish all these difficulties. If he has had no occasion of fighting, he has shown, in the marches and in the organization of the small expeditions which it has been possible to make, soldierly qualities of a very high order. But of what use will be the victory?

Italy is not rich; the Negus happened to be right when he said so. Massawa costs the budget nearly twenty millions of francs, £800,000, a year; the southern part of our empire costs nothing or nearly nothing. What will be the set-off for all this money, which is perhaps much more than England spends on all her African possessions? Italy will colonize and trade, say some; she will not be able to colonize and trade, reply others. I cannot decide; but I think on the whole that she will not. Neither the nature of the land nor the nature of the people yonder is favourable to colonization; and to invite the Italian peasants to begin their colonizing experience under such trying circumstances, I fear, will not be a success. Can a poor country, as Italy is now—it will not always be so—colonize a still poorer one? It is heard every now and then, that an Italian Company, on the English or German type, will be formed; but till now nothing has been done.

Trade? With what countries? With Abyssinia and with the Sudan? An English reader can appreciate better than I can what hope of fruitful trading those countries give. Without entering into details, which would carry me further than I can now follow, I may say that our experience has not been as yet very promising. The trade of the Oriental Sudan, when it can again be revived, the English think, will direct itself to Suakin, while the Italians hope that it will resort to Massawa. And the trade with Abyssinia, if the Italians wait, will it come through Tigrè to this place, or through Aussa to Assab? the French and English do not doubt that its way will be through Harrar to Obock or Zeila. It is difficult to say which of these hopes is well founded. Italy, moreover, is not yet such an industrial country that she needs extra-Euro-

pean markets for the surplus of her industrial products; and it is not an easy question to decide, if even the more industrial nations, while they seek in the parts of Africa depending on them a market for their industrial products, will not find there instead, when it becomes a little civilized and settled, an agricultural market, which will hasten the decay of the home agriculture of each of the European invaders.

All these doubts explain why there has never been, and there is not, in Italy a decided opinion—much less an enthusiastic desire—for African expansion or conquest. All that has been done, has been on the government initiative. Parliament has never been asked beforehand, although it has not protested afterwards. No measure, save that of 1882, about Assab, has been presented to it or voted on by it. Though not protesting, its general tendency has been to check the ministries rather than to urge them on. And even at present, I do not think that the majority of Italians care much about Kassala or any other inland place. The majority of the candidates in the northern constituencies of Italy have considered it necessary to assure the electors that they would not vote a penny more for African colonization. It is curious that a contrary feeling prevails in the South.

It must be acknowledged by all, that without the assent or the acquiescence of England, Italy could not establish such a colonial empire. It may be added, that it would not have wished to establish it, if it had caused any offence to England. The English friendship, without which it could not have been created, is also needful to its life. England touches it at Massawa through her Egyptian connexions, and at the Eastern coast by her own possessions. An Anglo-Italian convention is as necessary as the other conventions concluded by England with France, Germany, and Portugal. Italy is waiting for it; but the future must be left in the hand of God.

BONGHI.

PORTUGAL AND ENGLAND IN AFRICA.

By a Portuguese Official.

Historical Antecedents—The Conflict—The Treaty of the 20th August, 1890—The *Modus Vivendi*.

Introduction.

Audi alteram partem! In what I intend to write regarding the Treaty of the 20th August, 1890, concluded in London and signed by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Minister Plenipotentiary of Portugal, I shall endeavour to consider the facts from the standpoint of a critic whose object is to elicit the truth, and not as a Portuguese patriot, whose judgment may be clouded by indignation of what his country has suffered from an ancient ally, who professes to be ever willing to "hear the other side," to love "fair play," and to be guided by the highest motives of humanity.

The *Ultimatum* of the 11th January, 1890, must be judged by the facts which preceded it. Then, the *modus vivendi*—the diplomatic synthesis of the Treaty—will remain the historical commentary of the worth of diplomacy and of International Law, that illusory right which has no tribunal to maintain it.

The question between Portugal and England is of long date. It was born in old times, when these two European nations were the only ones in the Continent, then alto-

gether mysterious, to which the Portuguese were the first to bring the beacon of their vessels and of Christian civilization. In African Odysseys, the Portuguese were first; but in this century the English took the lead in the exploration of the interior of savage Africa. But the English always followed across the paths of the Portuguese; they always found the unperishing prints of our ancient vanguards so courageously pushed into the heart of Africa.

We came first; the English have first derived profit from it, and the two nations have never understood that their wisest course was to harmonize their interests by dividing African perils, glory, and conquests between them. Indeed, their interests have become hostile, much to their respective disadvantage, as will be shown further on. The incontestable rights of Portugal are like those of a good old, but decaying, family; those of England are modern, almost always obtained by ruse, based on wealth and defended by force. Like old noblemen, *we* have been frankness itself, but . . . let us say nothing; among nations frankness is nonsense; might is right.

England has got hold of ancient Portuguese territory on the African coast, also on that of Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and of the coast of Mina. Occupying a magnificent position in the Cape which the Dutch could not keep, the English have established themselves on the Natal coast; and seeing, for some years, that their Indian Empire was threatened on the one side by Russia, and that its profits were likely to be seriously diminished on the other by satisfying the new national aspirations of the anglicized Hindus, they now think of creating an Empire in Africa—as a compensation for losses in India, which is getting out of hand—at the expense of Portuguese misfortunes and frankness as of yore in India.

The struggle of the rivals was enormously unequal. Portugal had its epic tradition; but England,—more and more prosperous after the wars with Napoleon, vanquished in this very part of the Peninsula where the great con-

queror of modern times received the first blow, in this very Portugal where the English made ramparts and trenches of the Portuguese soldiers,—became the first power of the seas. Her expansibility and wealth gave her enough boldness to dare, her ships enough force to succeed in her adventures, and in masking her greed with the name of protection, she easily changed protection into possession.

The wars at the beginning of this century, which rendered England prosperous, made us poor and weak. The French invasion caused our loss of whatever strength we had in gold, vessels, and men. Brazil benefited by this. We had first to endure the monstrous protectorate of England, from which we have heroically freed ourselves. Civil wars then break out, one after another, till the end of the first half of this century; we are a nation that has remade itself during the last thirty to forty years at the outside.

It was, therefore, easy for England to continue her progress in Africa. I do not obviously care to speak of the thousand cases of unconscious Portuguese co-operation, and of the occasional submission of some Portuguese Government. What England could not snatch from the comparative material weakness of her ally, she obtained from a benevolence and an obligingness which, after all, is only humiliation! It would be easy to cite instances of such conduct of England towards us in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The greed of the strong has often the blinding impatience of the glutton. This singular greed blinds England and induces her, a strong nation, to prefer spoliation by other nations to easily sharing with an ally. Indeed, she has had this curious feeling against the very nation of which she has profited most. She opposed a possible Portuguese occupation of a part of the Congo, and preferred to it spoliation to her own detriment. In this matter, she roused the cupidity of Europe, and lost her almost absolute supremacy in Africa.

Berlin has taken the upper hand over London in the

affair of the Congo. The howling of the wolves made known a prey which they disputed to one another.

Homo homini lupus! The eagles have scented the air, surveyed the space, and are swooping down, one to take her part of the prey, the other to defend her young. France and Germany are stopping the way to England in Africa, where she hoped to march on alone.

"*Exitus ergo quis est?*"

In six years Germany has become an African power. The Berlin Conference has created the Colonial appetite of the Germans. They successfully occupy the south-east coast of Camaroûn and the Angra-Pequena bay. They found an Empire to the south of the Portuguese province Mossamedes, at Damara and in the Great Namaqua; they arrive at Zanzibar, where England had long exercised a *de facto* protectorate.

It was then that England, blinded by the singular greed of which I have spoken, recognised that she had to cede a part of her pretensions. She could certainly override with ease the rights of the Portuguese; but it was wise to respect the sensitiveness of German ambition. The Empire marked on the map of Africa at the Foreign Office, from Cairo to the Cape, could no longer become a reality. It was necessary to mutilate it by the partition of Africa. So England, the strong, yielded! To vent her rage, she had an easy victim—the allied nation at the expense of which she has ever aggrandized herself. She had nothing better to do than to dispute to the Portuguese the regions of gold in the interior of Africa. Where Portuguese expansibility might go, their powerful African Exploration Companies, created after the model of the too famous East India Company, were the vultures which should pounce on that Prometheus ravisher of fire, the light and guide of English missionaries in the interior of Africa.

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The facts bring us near to the ultimatum—the clear and

sufficient explanation of the treaty of the 20th August. Portugal renewed with England her ancient diplomatic negotiations on the limits of Portuguese possessions in Africa. Portugal wanted to have its expansibility assured, its rights recognised, for the truth began to dawn on us. The Portuguese Government always found hard demands in London; the fact is, that Mozambique makes a profound gash in the Empire projected by the Foreign Office. England could not do without the best or the most valuable part of the "Hinterland" of that province. For us also there was an Empire, the plan of which gave pleasure to the little nation, relegated to the extreme southern corner of the West of Europe, which by perseverance and sacrifices had reached a comparative prosperity that gives us confidence. If the rapacity of other nations will not combine to prevent it, our colonial expansion will be a fact in twenty years in the best interests of humanity. This is our faith, and such a faith is already a force. Then Africa would be the third Empire which the Portuguese have created, India and Brazil being the first and second. To lose the third Empire would be our national death and the failure of our historical task in the annals of the world.

Whilst continuing negotiations with England, the Portuguese Government obtained the rather too platonic recognition of Germany and of France of its rights to expansion from the coast of Angola to that of Mozambique. This was the map of delimitation, the famous rose-coloured map of 1886.

England became aware of the Portuguese design, so legitimate in every way. It gave her umbrage; and, greed continuing to blind her, she preferred spoliation a second time. She protested against the limits of the map; she established her protectorate in the land of Matabales; she pushed further and further into the interior by gifts, alcohol, arms, intrigue, and the perfidy of her missionaries, hostile to the Portuguese, who welcome and feed them, and, guiding them across Africa, do not remember the

Punic faith of those whom they have under their humanitarian protection.

And Germany, that nightmare of the Foreign Office! Yes! Germany is a danger for England; but the triple alliance has no ships; their voice is lost in the infinite solitudes of the ocean. The English squadron had already supported Germany when Zanzibar was blockaded, where some poor devils had revolted against the Germans. In the meanwhile Portuguese diplomacy confides too much in historical rights, and in those derived from priority of discovery or of occupation. England sometimes denied the occupation, but could not deny the priority of discovery, except as regards Nyassa. But did *she* at least occupy these territories, which her covetousness would snatch by stealthy means? Did she occupy them for any time? No! But finding them good, she installed herself in them, and forbade us from imitating her on our own property!

Livingstone arrived at the Shiré and at the Nyassa, guided by the indications of a Portuguese at Tete, and protected by the Portuguese authorities. The mission of Blintyre established itself by the acquiescence and protection of the Portuguese Government and with the generous benevolence of Portuguese functionaries. Another English traveller found in Upper Machonie most important remains of the dominion and the influence of the Portuguese . . .

"So much the worse for Portugal! That would only tarnish English glory. They will suit us, Nyassaland and the Machonie and the lands of Gaza! Our great Companies will find enough gold in them for a crown of more solid glory," and then the Foreign Office obstinately refused to recognise the historical rights of the Portuguese nation. "Let them show us their right and make us touch the reality of Monomotapa. Right may be theirs; force is ours, and force is the supreme right."

Such was practically the language in England as regards

the African question. The English Government, however, took good care not to despise the principle of right as regards other nations. It modified it according to its convenience. Thus it claimed rights to the Shiré and to the Nyassaland based on false premises—the discovery of these regions by Livingstone! Well, then, the Portuguese discovered the Shiré and the Nyassa two centuries before Livingstone, and Livingstone himself arrived there by the hand of the Portuguese. Punic faith!

On the other hand, England, only recognising the rights of occupation, claimed for herself territories where precisely she had not the slightest occupation. Inconsistency of the wolf as regards the lamb!

The Portuguese Government understood the situation in Africa. It thought of strengthening by effective occupation those rights which the English Government persisted in not recognising. A Portuguese expedition arrived in the upper Shiré. Some indigenous kings of Nyassaland swore vassalage to the King of Portugal. Another expedition leaves Zumbo and goes as far as Sankate, and there accepts the oath of various important vassalages. The Portuguese district of Zumbo is created.

Then Consul Johnston and his lieutenant Buchanan instigate the Makololes against the expedition of Serpa Pinto, and the English African Exploration Companies begin to fear the loss of the regions of ivory and of gold. Serpa Pinto beats the Makololes in Mupassa; Jean Continko drives them back into the Chilomo.

England had now the pretext for the Ultimatum of the 11th of January. She had not wished, through contempt, to recognise our possession by historic right; she now prohibited us from exercising our right of possession by occupation.

I will not comment on the Ultimatum. The act of violence has not stunned us. It will ever remind us of our duties and of our perfidious friend.

THE LATEST PHASE OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

WHEN the times in which we live shall have passed into history, probably the most inexplicable puzzle discoverable by future criticism will be our extraordinary apathy in dealing with our foreign dominions. And if, in those days to come, now existing possibilities shall have faded into wasted opportunities, if the awakening from the bright dream of British unity shall take the form of half a dozen independent, more or less insignificant, Republics, rightly will our descendants hold in contempt the emasculate statesmanship that undid the work of a Pitt, of a Canning, of a Palmerston. Nor will our apologists, if we have any, find much to urge in our defence. At best we shall be adduced as a national illustration of the Roman saw, *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* We would deem that individual insane who should postpone repairing his dwelling until it fell to pieces about his ears. Yet this is precisely what we, collectively, are now doing with the Empire handed down to us in trust for posterity. The names of our greatest modern statesmen, with, perhaps, but a single rising exception, are written upon sand of their own choosing—the continually shifting trivialities of local legislation. They may, indeed, command the applause of listening senates to-day; but succeeding generations will not so keenly appreciate the difference 'twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The prophet of an enduring National Polity has yet to arise. And truly he tarrieth in his coming.

Imperial Federation is, to borrow an expressive Americanism, a very large order—the largest of which history

furnishes any record. Never before has there existed an Empire so vast, so populous, so wealthy, as ours—or, so dislocated. Never before have responsibilities so weighty been placed upon the shoulders of a governing race—or, so lightly borne. The thirty-eight millions or so of people crowded into the 120,000 square miles which form the United Kingdom, exercise sway over three hundred millions of human beings spread over an area of ten millions of square miles. Figures such as these might reasonably be expected to furnish material for something better than a boastful article in an encyclopædia or an after-dinner speech. But they do not. They might even be deemed sufficiently startling to provoke inquiry as to the security of our tenure of so vast a heritage. But they are not. The average Englishman, whose attention may be drawn thereto, is subduedly, but evidently, proud of the fact, in much the same way as he would be of the possession of a fine set of teeth. The average audience of Englishmen, when reminded thereof, invariably breaks into applause. But neither the quiet self-satisfaction of the one nor the noisy gratification of the others leaves any enduring impression. The Empire, the flag, and the sun-that-never-sets have their traditional and well-understood uses; and, having been momentarily displayed and admired, are forthwith thrust back into their pigeon-holes until again required. What speaker ever has the hardihood to ask his hearers what they are cheering about? to tell them bluntly that they have no cause for glorification in the possession, by heritage, of an Empire which they are supinely allowing to slip from their grasp? Yet that is the solemn, sober reality.

As at present constituted, the whole Imperial fabric is titularly under the administration of the Foreign and Colonial Offices, with the co-operation of the War Office and Admiralty. Of course it is purely a Red Tape administration, a sort of Imperial General Post Office. That it does a vast amount of very useful work, no one can

deny. And least of all are the Colonies disposed to look so costly a gift-horse in the mouth too narrowly. The British tax-payer may, indeed, grumble that it affords a vast field for political influence to work in, and opportunities for unlimited patronage. It is his privilege so to grumble, because he has to pay for it. But to us Australians (as, probably, to other Colonials) it has much to recommend it. It costs us nothing. It ensures to us the rights of British citizenship all over the world. If it attempts any interference with our local affairs, we rap it over the knuckles and it at once withdraws. We are willing to believe, without troubling ourselves to inquire why, that it is one of the many British institutions upon which England's greatness is based. We understand that, as asylums for well-born or well-supported mediocrity, these departments are of the greatest value; that they supply caviare to many who would otherwise lack bread-and-butter; that, in short, they are hallowed by historical and other associations, which the English-born alone can properly appreciate. We furthermore realize that it would savour of rank ingratitude, if not of impertinence, to criticise when we are not called upon to pay. But it is rapidly being borne in upon us that the entire machinery, smoothly though it work at present, is somewhat out of date; that the dry-nursing may be as good as ever, but that we, the children, have outgrown the nursery.

It must surely be evident that Ministers entrusted with the direction of Imperial affairs, should be responsible to an Imperial Parliament. Now, no such Parliament at present exists. It is a distortion of the plain meaning of the term to call the present, over-taxed Parliament of the United Kingdom, an Imperial Parliament. It is only within the last fifteen years or so that the term has been so applied, finding its birth in the inventive brain of metropolitan journalism. To be Imperial, a Parliament must represent the Empire, not merely a section of it. An essential feature of Imperial Federation must therefore

be, the existence of a really Imperial Parliament, an assembly wherein every self-governing portion of the Empire shall have direct representation.

An administrative reform so great is apparently regarded by English statesmen, of all parties, as practically an impossibility. Mr. Gladstone has affirmed that "to make any separation between business of a local and an Imperial character would defy the wit of man altogether"; and the opinion has many times been quoted with approval by his political opponents. Yet evidently the functions of a truly Imperial Parliament would necessarily be limited to business of a purely Imperial character, and would have nothing whatever to do with affairs of a merely local nature. Here, then, is a stumbling-block at the very outset in the way of drawing closer the bonds of the Imperial structure; and, unless that stumbling-block is removed, no progress towards Imperial Federation is possible. This can only be effected by English public opinion undergoing a radical change. England must awaken to the fact that the days of "L'Empire, c'est Moi" are numbered; that the most she can fairly claim to-day is a leading voice, as *prima inter pares*, in the councils of the British race; and that she must look forward, in the perhaps not very distant future, to a considerable curtailment of her paramount influence. Her great Colonies are well past the leading-string stage. Some definite goal of national ambition they must and will have. And whether that goal take the form of Independence or of Britannic Confederation, will depend upon the action taken by the mother-country.

The present do-nothing-but-trust-to-time policy can neither be justified upon the score of expediency nor redeemed from reprobation by an epigram. It practically leaves the Colonies no choice but to look forward to separation, and to take their measures upon the assumption that the frail links which now bind them to England may, at any moment, be shattered by a general European war. It

will be within the recollection of all, that a wholesale war-crash has been trembling in the balance, at frequent intervals, during the past fifteen years. It is an open secret, that so soon as France and Russia see a favourable opportunity, they will strike. And then? Well, what the upshot may be, so far as the fate of the triple alliance is concerned, is a matter of conjecture. But it is impossible to warn Englishmen too strongly or too plainly that, if the inevitable coming European war finds the British Empire in its present disjointed condition, and if England is dragged into it (as she apparently must be, to avert the unspeakable curses of French supremacy and Russian greed), the end of that war, however it may terminate, will find several new republics in existence, and the Colonial Empire a thing of the past.

This is no alarmist view. It simply foreshadows the inevitable, under the stated conditions. Let not Englishmen in England count too much or too far upon what is often enthusiastically described as Colonial Loyalty, for it will not stand a stronger strain than sentiment. Hats, it is true, come off, when "God save the Queen" is played, quite as generally and as spontaneously in Melbourne and Toronto as they do in London. Patriotic references to the old country still stir up colonial enthusiasm. But it must be carefully borne in mind that, so far, the Colonials have not had the smallest reason to be disloyal. They enjoy absolute legislative freedom. They have received free gifts of enormous territories. They have been protected against the world. They have been lent money by hundreds of millions sterling. England has done everything for them that a parent could do for a child. And what has she asked or received in return? Any special trade advantages? Certainly not. With the single exception of New South Wales, all the Colonies are rigidly Protectionist; and, with the utmost impartiality, they exclude English manufactures under the same tariffs as those of Germany or France. A field for emigration for her

surplus population? The unanimous rejection of the proposals made by the Parliamentary Committee (Mr. Seton-Karr's) by all the Colonies, sufficiently answers this question. Englishmen are as free to immigrate as other foreigners; no more, no less. England has done everything, has given everything, and reaps no benefit which is not equally open to alien nations. It has been, and is, a one-sided affair throughout. Why then, in the name of probabilities, should Colonials not be loyal? And their loyalty is real enough (that is, they are quite willing to be catered for and protected) so long as it costs them nothing in the way of sacrifice, or loss, or danger. So, too, the North American Colonies, in the last century, were loyal enough until the Home Government sought to make them pay their share of Imperial expenses by imposing additional taxes upon stamps and tea, unaccompanied by any offer of representation. Then—ah! then the loyalty went, with the tea, into Boston harbour; and up went the stars and stripes of Independence.

Queensland was as loyal as the other Colonies until the Foreign Office, humouring Bismarck's whim of German colonization, repudiated the Queensland Premier's annexation of New Guinea. Thereupon her loyalty froze up. It may be noted that she alone, of all the Australasian Colonies, refused to contribute a shilling towards the maintenance of the squadron lent by England for the protection of Antipodean ports.

A contingent of troops was sent from New South Wales to the Soudan, and all England went wild with delight over it. The moral effect we, in Australia, were assured was incalculable. But, again, it is to be remarked that the bold step was taken while the New South Wales Parliament was not sitting, upon the sole responsibility of the late William Bede Dalley, an ultra-loyalist and as gallant a gentleman as ever drew breath. Mr. Dalley well deserved his Privy Councillorship. But he was very severely handled by the colonial Press.

Throughout the numerous war-scares, the tension placed upon colonial public opinion was extreme. Again and again were the batteries stationed along the coast manned in hourly expectation of attack. Preparations for defence were seen on all sides. Important rivers, like that at Brisbane, became impassable for vessels at night, owing to the torpedoes and floating bars.

The question was very freely raised and debated, Why should Australia be subjected to these dangers and alarms in the origin of which she had no voice? Why should her ports and her ships be exposed to attack from Russians, favourably known in Sydney as the givers of very excellent 'board-ship dinners and dances? Truly the Loyalist minority had its hands full to argue down these not unreasonable murmurs.

It is said, and, probably, with truth, that the Canadians are more loyal than the Australians. They have even more reason to be. But for the protection of the Union Jack, Canada would, long ago, have been absorbed by the United States. Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian Premier, is an ultra-loyalist, a second William Bede Dalley. Yet even he does not base his loyalty wholly upon sentiment. "Canada," he said in a recent speech, "cannot be independent with the United States for a neighbour. Nor will she ever consent to exchange her free Constitution for the tyrannous government of the Union." This is just the key-note to Canadian loyalty, which is at present being subjected to a very severe test.

The United States Government, finding it impossible in the teeth of the British fleet, to bully Canada in the Fisheries Question, has put the financial screw on, in the shape of the McKinley Tariff, which is temporarily crippling Canadian trade. "Renounce the Union Jack, or renounce trade with us," that is the exact meaning (as interpreted by every single member of the Canadian Ministry) of the Act. Happily both Mr. McKinley and Mr. Blaine would seem to have been hoisted with their own petard.

Otherwise the issue raised in Canada might very seriously have strained her relations with the Mother-Country.

The above is not a very exalted conception of colonial loyalty, but it has at least the merit of being accurate. And, accepting it, the English reader may feel disposed to regard it as a very poor return for past and present favours. As a matter of sentiment, it is. But the age of sentiment is as dead as its chivalrous prototype. All questions are nowadays gauged by a business standard; and, so viewed, the colonial position is sound enough. In business, there is, proverbially, neither friendship nor gratitude—only self-interest. The colonial belief is, that England founded and maintained her colonies for the sake of trade—of gain; that she continues to protect and encourage them for the same reasons. It is impossible to convince the average Australian or Canadian that Englishmen feel any consuming love for colonists whom they never saw, or that their interest in the colonies springs from any other source than profit. It is impossible also to be too frank upon this point, even brutally frank. If it paid England to throw over the colonies, over they would go; just as, when it paid her to throw over Heligoland, over it went. So, too, if it paid the colonies to throw England over, over she would go.

Now, as a matter of fact, as well as of business, this throwing-over policy would be a very great calamity for all concerned, if only a reasonable *modus vivendi* can be proposed. There are not wanting Englishmen, of the John Bright school, who boldly say, "Let the colonies go! They cost us a great deal of money, and we get no especial benefit out of them in return—nothing that we would not get equally well were they independent." Nor are Colonials backward in retorting, "Let us sever the connexion with England. We have got all we want, and no longer require leading-strings. What do *we* care about the balance of power in Europe? What does it matter to *us*, who owns Alsace or Constantinople? *Our* road to

India does not lie through the Suez Canal. We have neither voice nor share in England's foreign policy. Yet if she goes to war, we are liable to attack on her account." And so forth. Very good. Let us leave sentiment wholly out of the question, and estimate the advantages of cohesion, and the disadvantages of separation, by the standard of simple profit and loss. The most important considerations seem naturally to group themselves under three headings—Financial, Social, and Political.

Financial Considerations.

1. To build up, and to protect her Empire, England has, during the last hundred years, at the moderate average of £25,000,000 per annum, disbursed £2,500,000,000.

In addition to this, her National Debt (a debt incurred solely for purposes of the acquisition and defence of the Empire) stood, in 1815, at £850,000,000.

Since then her extraordinary war expenses have cost, at the very least, £350,000,000.

She has throughout been paying interest, etc., on her debt, and this item amounts to £2,040,000,000.

Adding all this up, we arrive at the bewildering total of *five thousand, seven hundred and forty millions sterling.* This is the amount, so far, sunk by England in the Empire business. Is she prepared to wipe it off as a bad debt?

2. Of this huge amount, £5,000,000,000 have been actually paid away; they are, so to speak, purchase-money and insurance paid up to date. The odd £740,000,000 represent the sum still owing as the National Debt.

Common fairness would seem to suggest that a debt contracted for the whole Empire should be taken over and paid by the whole Empire. But, inasmuch as any such suggestion would be very badly received by remote British citizens who at present pay nothing, we may relegate it to the Sentiment side of the ledger. It is, however, very certain that England's exceptionally good credit is, to an extent, due to her extensive foreign dominions and would

be seriously impaired by any important losses of territory. So, too, a consolidation and strengthening of her Empire could not fail to materially improve her credit, and make a further Refunding possible at lower rates.

This also applies to all British possessions—to India as well as to the Colonies. The mere existence of a Britannic Confederation would enormously ameliorate the borrowing-power of one and all. Indeed, the saving thus effected would probably, in many cases, cover the share contributable by each towards Confederate General Revenue.

3. The amount at present annually paid by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, exclusively for Imperial purposes, is a little over £50,000,000. Or, in other words, out of every pound for which the long-suffering natives of these islands are taxed, about twelve shillings and sixpence are expended upon the Empire. Rather more than five shillings are absorbed in interest, etc., upon the National Debt. The balance, of not quite half-a-crown, remains for purely home purposes, including the costs of royalty, of which one hears so much, and which amount to threepence.

It should be noticed that British citizens abroad get just as much out of the 12*s.* 6*d.* as the Englishman at home.

The Colonial is protected by the army and navy. He uses the consular agencies. He enjoys every privilege of British citizenship; and for nothing. It is hardly to be wondered at if he is quite prepared to accept all these good things so long as they are thus freely offered to him. The very least he can do is to remove his hat to "God save the Queen," considering that he has not even to contribute threepence towards her Civil List. But what shall we say of the Englishman's vaunted shrewdness, level-headedness, and business capacity? Nothing can well be clearer than that the £50,000,000 expended upon Imperial interests should be contributed by the three hundred and thirty millions of people spread over the Empire, not by the thirty-eight millions inhabiting Great Britain. But, of course, it is impossible to ask those to contribute who

have no voice in expending. Admit them first to the national councils, and then take a load of some thirty millions *per annum* off the Englishman's overladen back. Is not such a possibility more worthy a statesman's intellect and ambition than a timidly-ventured proposal to take twopence off the duty on tea? And what of public opinion? Is it incapable of grasping so clear a gain?

4. The public debts of the Empire (exclusive of the English National Debt) amount to £528,000,000, of which nearly the whole are held in England, and of which also more than two-fifths are represented by Australasian and Canadian Government Securities.

Leaving India and the other possessions out of the question, is England prepared to see so large an amount of colonial liabitities taken over by infant republics, or repudiated altogether, as the case may be?

5. What the value of the British capital privately invested in the colonies may be, it is difficult to estimate even approximately; but it certainly amounts to several hundreds of millions. Is that also to be left to the chapter of accidents?

6. Trade follows the flag. Although, theoretically, alien nations have the same advantages in their dealings with British possessions as England herself, yet, practically, the Parent Country enjoys the lion's share of their foreign trade. And here we may, with advantage, pause to consider how the trade of the United Kingdom is distributed.*

These figures are so suggestive, so fraught with meaning, that volumes of comment might be written without exhausting their signficance. The limits of this article make it, however, necessary to "set them down rather significantly than curiously," with a brief note of warning. The trade of Great Britain with her dominions is but the one-fourth of her total trade, and this might easily beget a belief that, were there no British possessions in existence,

* The statistics given in the third column are taken from the Table

there would yet remain a three-fourths balance to pull along with. Such an inference is as inaccurate as it is shortsighted. In the first place, Great Britain draws much of the raw material which, when manufactured, so enormously swells the volume of her alien trade, from her own dominions. Secondly, the future should enter more prominently into her commercial calculations, with her continually increasing home population, than the present. And if the Colonies, with a population of thirteen millions, can, even now, afford to do a trade with her of one hundred and seven millions, what may not be reasonably expected when they number fifty millions?

The platform, that they would trade with her just the same were they independent, has not a single sound plank in it. If the history of commercial polity teaches one incontrovertible doctrine, it is that the trade-relations of communities are directly influenced by the strength or weakness of their common political interests. And where these interests assume the definite shape of common allegiance to the same sovereign, the law may be stated with the precision of a mathematical formula: *The commerce between communities politically united, varies directly as the strength of such union, and inversely as the distance between such communities.*

prepared by Sir Rawson Rawson, and published in *Imperial Federation* for November. The others are from *Whitaker's Almanack.*

	Population, in Millions.	Total Import Export Trade, £ Millions.	Trade with United Kingdom, £ Millions.
British India and Straits Settlements		211·2	76·4
British Colonies		231·5	107·6
		442·7	184·0
Europe	..	—	327·0
United States	61	284	139·3
All other foreign countries and Hong Kong	—	—	91·6
			741·9

$$\text{Commerce} = \frac{\text{Union.}}{\text{Distance.}}$$

The proposal to base Imperial Federation, commercially, upon a law analogous to Newton's Law of Gravitation, may excite a smile. But it will bear criticism; and comparisons but serve to strengthen it. The United States, peopled by a kindred race of proverbial commercial energy, do a trade with Great Britain of £1 19*s.* 4*d.* per head of population. The British Colonies trade with her to the extent of £8 5*s.* 6*d.* per head. The distance is all in favour of the United States, but this is four times counterbalanced by England's union, ill-defined as it is, with the Colonies. If the reader will be at the pains of applying the law to the various parts of the commercial world, and more especially to the various sections of the British Empire, he cannot fail to be struck by the accuracy of the results. Any successful effort, therefore, at drawing closer the bonds of union, or at diminishing distance (which is, of course, practically synonymous with improved facilities for transport), tends directly to increase trade.

Nor must we here omit reference to a point of the very greatest commercial importance. The Colonies are, with one exception (if, indeed, the lengthy tariff of New South Wales entitles her to be considered an exception), strongly Protectionist in their commercial policy. To what is this due? The commonly accepted reason is the necessity for raising Revenue, and popular preference for indirect taxation. But this explanation will not stand criticism. Free Trade New South Wales, which has the splendid trade average of £41 per head, has also a Revenue of £8 11*s.* per head. Protectionist Canada, with the comparatively paltry trade average of £11, has a Revenue of but £1 9*s.* 6*d.* Now, Colonials are quite keen-witted enough to appreciate the immediate benefits conferred by Free Trade as compared with the immediate losses entailed by Protection. But they look—they are driven to look—farther ahead; and England's apathy leaves them nothing to look

forward to but eventual Independence. All the Free Trade arguments, statistics, and proofs are powerless to controvert the fact that a community, dependent upon England for its manufactures, would be very badly equipped for independent national existence, and would, meanwhile, be in very sore straits indeed if England should happen to lose even temporary complete command of the seas. Believing themselves to be destined to follow in the footsteps of the United States politically, they follow their model commercially; and, from motives alike of Patriotism and of common Prudence, they protect their native industries by excluding English manufactures. They view Protection as an evident immediate loss, incurred for the sake of future gain, nay, of future Nationality. They regard Free Trade as an immediate gain, entailing eventual national calamity. And how can they be blamed for so accepting the position? After all, why should they not, in the absence of any other goal for their national ambition, seek to follow the United States? They have the authority of even Adam Smith upon their side. Prospects such as theirs apparently are, are distinctly held by the great founder of Political Economy to justify protective measures. Shortly before his death, John Bright, speaking upon the question of Imperial Federation, asserted that the Colonies would be fools to dream of continuing their connexion with England indefinitely, or in the event of war. That speech was copied far and wide into the Colonial Press, and evoked a great amount of public discussion. The Republicans and Separatists were naturally jubilant. The Loyalists said very unkind things of John Bright. But the general verdict was, that he was right; as he unquestionably was, unless England speedily awakens to the necessity of substituting the goal of Britannic Confederation for that of independent Republicanism. It is not inferred that, were Confederation an accomplished fact, the Colonies would at once alter their trade policy. Protection creates vested interests which cannot be torn up by the roots at a

moment's notice. But Federation would at least do away with the existing necessity for Protection; and the associated Colonies would surely, if slowly, fall into the profitable channels of Free Trade. Each section of the Empire would, as a matter of justice, be left perfectly free to regulate its own local tariffs by the decisions of its own local Legislature. Time would accomplish the rest. Men will not long continue to pay double prices for inferior goods, once the necessity for so doing is removed. Perhaps, in the long run, some system of Federal Free Trade, with reciprocal tariffs against alien nations, would be devised. But that possibility is, at present, too remote to detain us.

Productively and geographically, the nature of the Empire leaves little or nothing to be desired. There is no single article of necessity or of luxury which cannot profitably be produced in some portion or other of our wide dominions. India has become a formidable rival to the United States in the growing of cotton. She and Ceylon are pressing close upon the heels of China and Brazil in the tea and coffee markets of the world. England is mainly dependent upon Australia and the Cape for her supplies of wool. All the Colonies and possessions contribute largely towards her imports of wheat and meat and sugar. We actually are, or could be if we chose, that which the Americans, despite their bombast, are *not*, and, from circumstances of latitude and longitude, never can be, productively independent of the rest of the world. Our ambition need extend no farther than to keep what we have got.

Geographically, our positions only need closer union and consolidation to be practically invulnerable. Distance nowadays is measured by coaling stations; and these we possess in abundance. Our hold upon Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and Egypt, together with the forts at Socotra, Perim, and Aden, go far towards making the Mediterranean and the Red Sea English lakes. We have, besides,

alternative routes to the East, *viâ* the Cape and *viâ* Vancouver. It is not easy to point out a really weak spot in the whole chain of our dominions. Wherever from the bosom of Ocean has arisen an important island or a commanding position, there, almost to a certainty, floats the Union Jack. Our means of telegraphic communication, indeed, are defective, but are being rapidly improved. Political union is the one thing which we have left, and are still leaving, undone.

Social Considerations.

The great Social Problem, What shall be done with our surplus Population? is as far from solution as ever. Nature's prime ministers, Famine and Disease, are working it out, in their old grim fashion, now as heretofore. Squalid poverty abounds, despite all efforts at relief. Thousands of noble-minded men and women are devoting their lives and means to the heart-breaking task of alleviating a portion, at least, of the misery around them. Poor-rates are excessive. Private philanthropy is strained to the utmost. Organized bodies of howling dervishes, male and female, make day and night hideous, to the blare of trumpets and the beating of tom-toms. But the Demon of Want refuses to be exorcised; and laughs alike at the Workhouse and at General Booth.

Of course no one, who has intelligently studied the conditions of human existence, believes in the efficacy of charity, in any shape or upon any scale, to produce permanent results. Charitable appeals are addressed to our pity, not to our reason. We are human and pitiful, and give. But Nature is superhuman and pitiless, and hurls back our gifts in our faces by doubling the claimants to our succour. No more beings can live in any one place than either the soil can feed or trade support. So far as England is concerned, population has long ago outgrown locally-raised means of subsistence, and her trade, expansive though it is, is unable to keep pace with the daily increasing surplus.

Extending our view, we find that there are, in the United Kingdom, 1,032,228 paupers in receipt of workhouse relief. 180,206 persons in gaol, besides heaven knows how many more leading a bare hand-to-mouth existence, and oscillating between these establishments. In spite of all the efforts made, these numbers have never diminished; they have steadily increased, as they necessarily must. Such schemes as that of General Booth, however promising from a salvation-of-souls point of view, are foredoomed failures so far as salvation of bodies is concerned. The fact ought surely by this time to be recognised, that wholesale over-population can only be remedied in one of two ways: by wholesale destruction, or by wholesale emigration. And with many millions of square miles of literally uninhabited, but inhabitable, territory within the limits of our Empire—territory lying idle for want of men and women to occupy it would it not seem that every effort should be concentrated upon emigration? This was the common-sense view that, somewhat tardily, found favour with the House of Commons some two years ago. Upon the motion of Mr. Seton-Karr, a strong committee was appointed to consider and report upon a scheme of colonization upon a large scale. A similar committee was appointed by the House of Lords. The two committees amalgamated, thoroughly discussed the question in all its bearings, and published their report. Herein the principle of extensive Colonization was strongly approved, and the means indicated whereby, under Government guarantee, the necessary funds were to be raised. It only remained to obtain grants of the requisite areas from the Colonial Governments. The attention of the British tax-payer is drawn to the sequel.

Canada, apparently, for some not very patent reason, was not asked. The other Colonies, under various pretexts, flatly refused to concede the land. Victoria, New Zealand, and the Cape alleged that they were too small to spare any. Queensland replied that her existing land-laws were as those of the Medes and Persians. West Australia,

being a Crown Colony, sang in a minor key, and offered some jungle upon the south-western coast which did not, at the time, belong to her. South Australia simply declined, with polite regrets. Whilst New South Wales, the Parent Colony, the very headquarters of Colonial Loyalty, the heroine of the Soudan, replied through her Premier, Sir Henry Parkes, that such a proposal was utterly inconsistent with the Australian watchword, "Australia for the Australians." The final upshot of all which was, that the Colonization scheme fell to the ground.

Now, the obvious moral of this episode is, that when the Englishman in England speaks, in the patronizing tone of ownership, of *his* Colonies, that Englishman deceives himself. He no more owns the Colonies than the Colonial owns Hyde Park or the Duchy of Lancaster. His forbears parted with all ownership by free deed of gift. He himself, only a few weeks ago, deliberately handed over a million square miles of West Australian territory to a population which could lose itself in the Crystal Palace. And now, in no single one of the great Colonies does he own a rood of land. *Mutatis mutandis*, "Australia for the Australians" accurately formulates colonial opinion throughout the Empire, as that Empire is at present constituted.

To immigration there is no objection, provided it be of the right quality. Unfortunately all assisted migration has, hitherto, proved a doubtful blessing, and has come to be viewed with marked disfavour. The idea has somehow taken root in the minds of Colonials that Englishmen metaphorically print upon maps of their territory, "Rubbish may be shot here," and they resent it. They protest vigorously against having Home "failures" dumped down upon their shores. Hence they viewed with suspicion even the proposals of the Parliamentary Committee. Nor is there the smallest reason for supposing that their opinions will undergo a change unless, as States of the Britannic Confederation, their local watchword expands into "The British Empire for the British."

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

That England's widespread possessions are, under the present absence of cohesion, a source of weakness rather than of strength, of danger rather than of security, is a fact the truth of which has been but too often made manifest. Ministers know not, from day to day, at what moment they may become involved with France over Newfoundland or the New Caledonian convict question, or with the United States over the Canadian Fisheries, or with Germany or Portugal over Africa. India is, of course, a source of chronic anxiety, necessitating, as she does, the continual eye of watchfulness upon Russia in Asia, and a ceaseless safeguarding of Turkey from Russia in Europe. The very extent of her dominions, of such untold value commercially, at once increases the risk of disputes with foreign powers and adds to her vulnerability should these disputes culminate in war. She is, besides, haunted by a constant dread that the long-threatened, sooner or later apparently inevitable, European crash will burst forth, and that therein she may find herself forced to participate. The results, so far as she herself is concerned, she can look forward to without misgiving. But what of her Empire? Would it, could it, stand the strain? Truly a momentous question, and one that none but the most sanguine of Jingoes would venture to answer in the affirmative. It needs no prophet to foresee that, so soon as England's resources were strained to their utmost, the United States would fasten upon any one of half a dozen available pretexts to overrun Canada; or to predict that, once she got fairly into the Dominion, no power on earth would ever turn her out again. No second sight is required to foretell that the capture or bombardment of one or two Australasian ports would send up the neutral flag of Independence as the price of immunity from further attack, and that other Colonies would follow suit. India might, and probably would, be saved at a terrible cost of blood and treasure.

The strongholds also would, almost to a certainty, remain. And that would be all.

Is it possible for Englishmen to face such probabilities as these without a setting of the teeth and a clenching of the hand? Does not such a prospect send the indignant blood with a rush from heart to brain, and beget a stern resolution so to be up and doing that this shame may never fall upon our race? Would that it were given to the writer to phrase the warning so that it might strike home like call of trumpet in the ears of England! For now, as truly as at Trafalgar, does it behove each one of us, who has the national honour at heart, to do his duty, to protect the Empire which, otherwise, Nelson will have died in vain to save.

The first essential step towards safeguarding the integrity of the Empire is to federate its component parts, to replace the present vague, unreal, supposititious bond of nominal common allegiance to the Crown, by a definite, substantial, Political Union. Nothing short of this will do; half-measures are useless. And, what is more, there is no time to be lost; too much has been wasted already.

We have now arrived face to face with three obstacles ingeniously placed in the way of immediate action by those who, never having taken the trouble to grasp the meaning and importance of Federation, oppose it, as it were, on instinct, and tacitly admitted *to be* obstacles, even by Federationists themselves. These obstacles, taken in the order of their real or supposed magnitude and difficulty, may thus be stated:

I. Wait till the Australian Colonies shall have federated amongst themselves.

II. Wait till the Colonies propose to federate with Great Britain.

III. Produce your plan.

I. This is merely an excuse, not a reason for delay. The Australian Colonies have decided, or are deciding, to federate amongst themselves as a precautionary measure

for their own safety, and as a preliminary step, not to Imperial Federation, but to Republican Independence. They have waited patiently for a long time for Imperial Federation, about which there was such a clatter a few years ago, to take definite shape. They have at length come to the conclusion, as is plainly shown by their press and the utterances of their public men, heralded by Sir Henry Parkes, that the whole affair is a fashionable dream, nursed by the old ladies of Darlinghurst and Toorak. They have no United States for a neighbour, as Canada has, to make Independence impossible. On the contrary, they thoroughly believe that the Great Republic would shield them from any land-grabbing European Power. This is doubtless a very silly belief on their part, but they cling to it nevertheless. And, being a very high-spirited, not to say bumptious, people, they entertain a possibly exaggerated opinion of their ability to protect themselves. Of course they are very glad to enjoy the security conferred by the Union Jack, up to the last possible moment. But, in anticipation of that moment, they are setting their house in order by standing forth, before the eyes of the world, as the United States of Australasia.

If England waits till this step *forward* is completed, she may at the same time prepare, at very short notice, to erase the name of the Great Southern Continent from the list of her possessions. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*—after March 1891.

II. "Wait till the Colonies propose to federate with Great Britain"—

And hope to catch larks if ever the heavens should fall! Upon what principle of insanity is such a proposal ever likely to emanate from the Colonies? Who ever heard of any man, or community of men, asking permission to be taxed? Federation necessarily implies Revenue Contribution, as the direct consequence of legislative representation. It would mean the saving, to English taxpayers, of some thirty millions per annum, which would have to be dis-

tributed over the rest of the Empire. Whose business is it to ask: the man's who pays all, or the man's who pays none?

Absurd as it may seem, this idea has for years stood its ground as a principal reason why Imperial Federation has hung fire. That "the first advances must proceed from the Colonies to England, and not from England to the Colonies," has been an accepted principle. It is to be hoped, for the credit of English common-sense, that we have heard the last of it.

III. "Produce your plan." This is really the only solid obstacle in the way, and a very difficult one it is to surmount or remove. Nay, smaller obstacles are constantly being thrown forward to hamper all attempts at removal. We are discouraged by assurances, upon high authority, that the task "defies the wit of man altogether." We are cautioned that our plans must be neither "new-fangled" nor "cut-and-dried." At the utmost, we are conceded permission to offer the outlines of a federal scheme. We are on no account to dabble in "paper constitutions." Fortunately our limits make it also incumbent upon us to respect these limitations.

The Federal Plan.

Principle.—To assure to all sections of the British Empire at least equal individual, and greater collective, advantages than they at present enjoy. Each for itself; Federation for all.

Political Subdivision.—All possessions which now acknowledge, or which hereafter may acknowledge, the sovereignty of the British Crown, shall be joined in a political, legislative, and commercial Union, under the style and title of States, Protected States, Dominions, Territories, and Strongholds of the Britannic Confederation.

State Basis.—Every community of British race may claim to be admitted as a State, which now possesses, or hereafter may possess, the following qualifications:—

I. Local Self-government.

II. A British population of at least 100,000 souls.

III. An import-export trade of at least £1,000,000 *per annum*.

Protected States.—Communities which have not yet attained a growth fulfilling these conditions, shall be admitted to the Confederation as Protected States, or States-in-Tutelage. Such Protected States, being regarded as immature States, shall enjoy full privileges of British citizenship, together with such measure of local autonomy as may be consistent with their prosperous development.

Dominions.—Communities which are essentially and definitely of alien race shall be admitted to the Confederation as Dominions.

Territories.—The term "Territories" shall include such British possessions as, either from disparity between their British population and their area, or from the probably fixed preponderance of inhabitants of alien race, together with marked commercial and moral inferiority, can neither be ranked with Protected States nor with Dominions.

Strongholds.—Crown dependencies, whose chief value to the Confederation lies in their importance as strategic positions or commercial bases.

"*Immergence.*"—The principle whereby a Protected State may, when qualified, merge into a State; a Territory (essentially British) into a Protected State; or a Territory (of alien race) into a Dominion. But no Dominion shall merge into a Protected State or State.

"*Emergence.*"—Any State may resolve itself into two or more separate States (duly qualified), each enjoying full State privileges.

Entering the Confederation.—Existing British communities shall voluntarily join the Britannic Confederation, either as States or as Protected States, according to their present status.

Recalcitrant Community.—But any such British community refusing voluntarily so to join, or failing so to have

joined at the first meeting of the Britannic Confederate Parliament hereinafter described, may, by a vote of the said Parliament, be pronounced "recalcitrant." And if, from geographical position or other cause, the independent existence of such recalcitrant community be, by direct vote of the said Parliament, decided to be a source of danger to Confederate interests, it may, by a further vote, be adjudged a RENEGADE STATE, and be thereupon treated as a Dominion.

Any State may, at its discretion, at any time, cease to fulfil its legislative Imperial functions, sinking, however, by such *laches*, to the status of a Renegade State.

RESULTING COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF THE BRITANNIC CONFEDERATION.

Whether the parent country retain her single local Legislature and head the Confederation as a single State, or cut the Gordian Knot of Home Rule by "Emergence," and boldly enter as the States of England, Wales, Scotland, Ulster, and the United Provinces, is a question that comes not within the scope of this article to discuss, as it in no way affects the proposed scheme.

The figures in brackets are the trade-averages in £.

STATES.—United Kingdom, (19); Ontario, (11); Quebec, (11); Nova Scotia, (11); New Brunswick, (11); Manitoba, (11); Prince Edward's Island, (11); Newfoundland, (14); Guiana, (16); Cape Colony, (20); Mauritius, (12); Victoria, (35); New South Wales, (41); Queensland, (33); South Australia, (37); Tasmania, (22); New Zealand, (24). Seventeen States.

PROTECTED STATES.—Channel Islands, Man, Columbia, Albertia, Honduras, Natal, West Australia, Jamaica, Bahamas, Bermuda. Ten.

DOMINIONS.—India, Ceylon, North Borneo, Cyprus, Egypt, Zanzibar, and other African Protectorates.

TERRITORIES.—North-West Territory, Kewatin, New Guinea, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Lagos.

STRONGHOLDS.—Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Perim, Socotra, Hong Kong, Labuan, Barbados, Fiji, Straits Settlements, Trinidad, Leeward Isles, Windward Isles, Falkland and South Georgia Islands, St. Helena, Ascension, and others.

REPRESENTATION OF STATES IN CONFEDERATE PARLIAMENT.

The total trade of any given community, divided by population, gives the average trade per head. So too the sum-total of all trade-averages, divided by sum-total of populations, gives the general or standard average for the Empire, which at once becomes the *Trade-unit of Representation.* Then, such States as possess an average the same as the standard will return one representative for each population-unit. States, whose averages exceed or fall short of the standard, will return numbers proportional to such excess or deficiency.

Upon this basis, which is as simple as it is fair, the numbers returnable by States would be as follows, the Imperial trade-average being £21 : United Kingdom, 331 ; Ontario, 9 ; Quebec, 7 ; Nova Scotia, 2 ; New Brunswick, 2 ; Manitoba, 1 ; Prince Edward's Island, 1 ; Newfoundland, 1 ; Guiana 1 ; Cape Colony, 4 ; Mauritius, 1 ; Victoria, 17 ; New South Wales, 19 ; Queensland, 5 ; South Australia, 5 ; Tasmania, 1 ; New Zealand, 7.

This distribution gives the United Kingdom a voice so preponderating in the National Assembly that the Colonial vote would appear to be, by comparison, insignificant. But upon no conceivable fair basis can the influence of the parent country be otherwise than paramount, so long as she towers above the colonies in population as she does at present. Their voice will increase with their increase, will grow in power with their growth. It is not proposed to establish a British Despotism, but a Britannic Confederation. In the proposed Parliament, parties would balance one another, alternately figuring as Government and Opposition, as in other British assemblies. We have, of late

years, seen the power of 80 members in the Home Parliament of 670 representatives. The power of 80, in a Confederate Parliament of, 414, would certainly be as great. Finally, the representation allotted to the Colonies is very evidently eighty-three times better than—nothing.

It is proposed that the Parliament be dual, consisting of a Supreme Legislative Council with [provisionally 137] Members, and a Supreme Legislative Assembly with [provisionally 277] Members; and that the election of representatives for both Houses shall proceed from the local State-legislatures in the following manner: The Upper House of each local State-legislature shall select from among its own members, either by consent or by ballot, the number of Representatives for the S. L. Council to which their State may be entitled, viz., *one-third of the total number returnable.* Hence, no State shall be entitled to a Representative in the S. L. Council which has not a strength of at least three in the Confederate Parliament.

Similarly, the Lower House of each State-legislature shall select and return two-thirds of the total number for service in the Supreme Legislative Assembly.

In either case, the Representatives shall be equally chosen, so far as possible, from the local Ministerial party and local Opposition. If this can be effected with the exception of an odd member, such odd member shall, in the case of the S. L. Council, be nominated by the Crown, and, in the case of the S. L. Assembly, be chosen from the Ministerial party. But if, in the latter case, it shall be found impossible to select representatives in the proportion set forth, then shall the proceedings be deemed null and void *ab initio*, and the choice of Members for the S. Legislative Assembly be decided by a Special General Election.

Vacancies about to be created in the Houses of the State Legislatures by the transference of Members to the Confederate Parliament must at once be filled, upon writs issued by the President and Speaker.

Jurisdiction.—The jurisdiction of both Houses shall be

concurrent, co-equal, and co-essential, except upon questions of finance, which shall be within the exclusive province of the Supreme Legislative Assembly.

The authority of the Confederate Parliament shall be supreme upon all questions of Confederate interest. Imperial taxation, foreign policy, emigration, additions to, alterations in, or matters in any way relating to Confederate possessions; the control of the Confederate forces by land and sea, the maintenance of proper relations between all States, etc., of the Confederation, the Confederate Civil Service and Post Office Service, and trade relations with alien nations, shall, *ipsis naturis*, be deemed to be of "Confederate Interest."

Sessions of Parliament.—These shall be held in LONDON at such times and in such buildings as may hereafter be appointed. A Preliminary Session (informal) shall be held by either House for the purpose of electing a President and a Speaker, of approving a code of Parliamentary Regulations, of framing an Oath of Allegiance to the Crown and Confederation, and of transacting such other business as may be deemed necessary to future legislation.

Her Most Gracious Majesty shall appoint a day for the formal opening of the Parliament of the Britannic Confederation. This day shall, both on that occasion and on every subsequent anniversary, be observed as a public holiday throughout the Empire, and shall be historically known as "Federation Day."

Administration.—The administration of Imperial affairs shall be conducted by Ministers possessing the confidence of Parliament and appointed by the Crown. Minorities shall be regarded as the Constitutional Opposition, and from their ranks a defeated ministry shall be replaced.

Bills introduced shall be either ordinary or urgent. Any Bill may, by a vote of the House, be classed as urgent. Urgent Bills shall take precedence of all ordinary Bills.

No Bill shall become law until it shall have been approved, upon its third reading, by a *three-fifths majority*

of the Lower House. (Some such provision seems necessary to prevent a bare majority from riding rough-shod over a strong minority. A Bill which cannot command a three-fifths majority in an Imperial Legislature, placed far beyond the party-feelings of State-legislatures, may safely be allowed to lapse without injury to Confederate interests. Moreover, the necessity of a substantial majority would, in Colonial eyes, be a great safeguard against the danger of "swamping" from the preponderating United Kingdom vote.)

Ministers shall be appointed to the following Departments:—

1. Finance.
2. Protected States.
3. Dominions.
4. Territories.
5. War.
6. Admiralty.
7. Emigration.
8. Education and Science.
9. Commerce and Post Office.
10. Foreign Affairs.

Confederate General Revenue.—The just principle pervades British financial polity, that they who contribute the money shall expend the money. The equally just converse may be laid down, that they who expend the money shall contribute the money. So far, therefore, as the States are concerned, we may at once formulate the doctrine, that *each State shall contribute to the General Revenue necessary for Confederate purposes a sum proportional to its Representative strength in the Confederate Parliament.* It may further be accepted that directly-unrepresented Dependencies should be taxed in accordance with *their ability to pay as evidenced by their Revenues.* The General Revenue would thus come from two sources: State-Contributions and Dependency-Contributions. The proportions contributable by each might be as two-thirds and one-third respectively—proportions, of course, to be regarded as arbitrary and tentative.

To illustrate the position. Suppose the required General

Revenue to be £45,000,000. Of this amount the States would contribute thirty millions and the Dependencies fifteen. To ascertain the share payable by each State we need only place the State-representative number over 414 and observe how many pounds sterling this fraction of £30,000,000 amounts to. Thus, while the share of the United Kingdom would be $\frac{331}{414}$ of £30,000,000, or £23,986,232, Tasmania's would be but $\frac{1}{414}$, or £72,463. Similarly, whilst, among the Dependencies, wealthy India would certainly not get off under seven figures, Ascension would escape with a mere trifle. The various amounts due having been calculated, it will lie within the province of the Minister for Finance to distribute the totals for payment by the different Executives.

The Dependencies.—Their interests will, of course, be watched over by the Ministers especially entrusted with that duty. Thus, the Minister for Protected States enjoying complete or partial self-government, by placing himself in direct communication with the local administrations, would have no difficulty in laying before the Confederate Parliament the wishes and wants of the communities under his charge. In the case of Dependencies not yet ripe for any measure of autonomy, their Imperial Minister might be assisted by a locally-appointed Council of Advice. For India, at least, such a Council would be found of great value. The Territories furnish abundant material for a special portfolio. The Minister entrusted with their supervision would find his duties running mainly in parallel grooves with those of the Minister for Emigration. The Strongholds fall so naturally within the provinces of the Admiralty and the War Office, that they need no special Minister.

Such is, in bare outline, a plan which would seem to be neither unfair in its conception nor inordinately difficult of putting into execution. The political re-grouping of the component sections of the Empire, of itself, apparently, breaks the back of the difficulty. Nor do the limits of a

magazine article permit of more than a passing reference to two other very important considerations.*

POLITICAL WEIGHT OF A BRITANNIC CONFEDERATION.

The European political out-look is as thick, the chances of indefinitely averting war as remote, as ever. But an effective display of force is the very best guarantee for peace. And it would be well within the power of the Britannic Confederation to make such a display as would very effectively curb foreign aggression. The total force at present enrolled under British colours is much greater than most persons are aware of, viz. :—

United Kingdom	Regulars	193,000	
	Militia and Volunteers	592,000	
	Royal Navy	56,000	
Canada	Active Army	65,000	
	Reserve	655,000	
Other Colonies	Active Army	37,000	
		1,598,000	British troops.
		146,000	Native (India).
	Grand total	1,744,000	

At sea British pre-eminence is still unquestioned.

The Britannic Confederation would thus start with a military and naval force behind it which no nation, or coalition of nations, could afford to make light of. But that is not enough. We must be able to show a force so overwhelming as to make it impossible for any quarrelsome power to disturb the general peace. The thing can be done very easily, and ought to be done speedily, in the interests, not of our Empire alone, but of all mankind. No such fetter upon freedom as a conscription is even hinted at. But it is no fetter upon freedom to propose that every

* Readers who may feel interested in a detailed analysis of the scheme proposed, are invited to place themselves in communication with the writer, either through the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW," or the Secretary, Imperial Federation League, 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square.

British citizen, within certain age-limits, be taught the rudiments of drill and how to handle a rifle, any more than that he be taught how to handle a pen and the rudiments of grammar. No necessity to make even this little compulsory. Merely let it be known that it is *expected* of every British citizen that he qualify for a certificate of proficiency. Public opinion, that mighty engine which foreigners can *not* understand, will do the rest. And with a reserve of five or six millions of such material to fall back upon, what nation shall dare to draw the sword in the teeth of the Britannic Confederation?

THE FIRST MOVE.

Finally, there remains the all-important consideration, How shall the first move towards Federation be taken? Two ways at once suggest themselves. A short Federation-Enabling Act could decide upon the exact basis of State-Representation, and this could be passed simultaneously in all prospective States of the Confederation, to be at once followed by a Convocation Act summoning the Colonial Members to Westminster, or wherever else the Houses of the new Parliament might be situated. Or, the machinery might more simply be put into motion by Royal Warrant. The writer can find no evidence that the Royal Prerogative to summon representatives is confined to any one region. And, even if it be a stretch of the Prerogative, the exigencies of the political situation would amply justify it. The chief thing is, to get the representatives together. Once that is effected, Imperial Federation will have passed from the foggy regions of speculative theory into the bright sunshine of accomplished fact.

MAURICE H. HERVEY.

P.S.—By the courtesy of the Editor of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, the writer is permitted, at the last moment, to make the following *addenda*:—

1. New Zealand objects to Australasian Federation. Her House of Representatives, after first refusing even to send

delegates to the forthcoming Conference, finally, as a matter of courtesy to Australia, has agreed to send three, instead of seven, but without powers to commit the Colony. The reason for this is plainly shown by the following extracts from speeches made in the House.

The Colonial Secretary (Captain Russell) said: "Sir, could we for an instant gain anything by weakening in any degree the link that binds us to that great Empire? I venture to say, we could not. Should we gain anything by allying ourselves with Australia? I venture to say that we should do a wrong if we did anything at all that would tend to weaken the chances of Imperial Federation. . . ."

Mr. Ballam (Leader of the Opposition) said: "I do not see that anything is to be gained by Australasian Federation. . . . The tendency in the Australian Colonies at the present time—although it is a tendency that may be reversed—is to have their own flag. There is a large—I am told a growing—section of people in Australia in favour of Complete Independence. But I ask, Are the people of this Colony, with all the liberties and privileges that they enjoy in this connection—are they prepared to run the risk of having this connection severed? I am firmly of opinion that it is our duty to keep clear of all minor Federations, and attach ourselves to the great Federation of the Empire, in which we can take a dignified and leading part."

Do not these utterances by the leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition—unanimous for once—fully bear out the writer's contention, that Australian Federation is merely the prelude to Australian Independence—an independence into which New Zealand refuses to be dragged?

2. The word "Imperial" has an ill sound in Colonial ears. And although the writer has followed custom by using it in this paper, he would strongly urge the substitution of the word "Britannic." "Britannic Confederation" might advantageously replace "Imperial Federation."

3. The General Council of the Federation League, at a

meeting held at the Offices, 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, on December 4th, Lord Brassey, K.C.B., in the chair, adopted a most important resolution, which may fairly be described as a vigorous move forward. It runs as follows :—" That the Imperial Federation League make formal representation to the Board of Trade Commercial Treaties Committee, now sitting, concerning the paramount importance of the earliest possible notice being given to the King of the Belgians and the German Emperor, of the intention of Her Majesty to cancel that clause in the Treaties of Commerce of 1862 and 1865, restraining Colonial Governments and Peoples from according any fiscal advantage to British goods over those of Germany and Belgium.

The text of the clauses here referred to runs as follows: The treaty with Belgium, 23rd July, 1862, provides that —" The produce or manufactures of Belgium shall not be subject in the British Colonies to other or higher duties than those which are, or may be imposed upon similar articles of British origin." The treaty with the German Zollverein, 30th May, 1865, enacts that—" In the Colonies and possessions of Her Britannic Majesty, the produce of the States of the Zollverein shall not be subject to any higher or other import duties than the produce of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." And, moreover, by a very elastic interpretation of the term "British," these treaties have been held to be binding upon the Colonies *inter se*, as well as in their trade relations with the mother country. It has been, and still is, therefore, out of the power of Colonial legislatures to make any tariff-concessions, even in favour of sister-colonies, without *ipso facto*, including Germany and Belgium in their benefits. In plain English, England, by these and similar treaties, has given over to alien nations what certainly, nowadays, is not hers to give, viz., the colonial markets. She has thereby, in her feverish anxiety to secure every possible advantage for herself in alien markets, put a series of brakes upon the expansion of

the trade of the colonies, both with herself and amongst themselves. And, in the face of this crippling legislation, leading English statisticians have been at great pains to show that, after all, the Colonial trade is but a fourth of her whole trade. Or, to borrow a sporting metaphor, she has handicapped the Colonial two-year-old with the weight of thirty-four most-favoured-nation Treaties, and gravely announces that it has not beaten the stables of the World! Truly it is time that such clauses as these just attacked by the Imperial Federation League were cancelled, and that a policy be inaugurated, if not yet, of British Fair Trade, at all events, of British Fair Play.

M. H. H.

FABLES, LEGENDS, AND SONGS OF CHITRAL

(*called Chitrár by the natives*).

Collected by H. H. Sirdar Nizám-ul-Mulk, Raja of Yasin, etc., and by Dr. G. W. Leitner, and translated from Persian or Chitráli.

I. Fables.

1. The Vindictive Fowl.

A fowl sat near a thistle, and opened a rag, in which corals were tied up. Suddenly one fell into the thistle; the fowl said, "O thistle, give me my coral." The thistle said, "This is not my business." The fowl said, "Then I will burn thee." The thistle agreed. The fowl then begged the fire to burn the thistle. The fire replied, "Why should I burn this weak thorn?" The fowl thereupon threatened to extinguish the fire by appealing to water: "O water, kill this fire for my sake." The water asked, "What is thy enmity with the fire, that I should kill it?" The fowl said, "I will bring a lean cow to drink thee up." The water said, "Well"; but the cow refused, as it was too lean and weak to do so. Then the fowl threatened to bring the wolf to eat the cow. The wolf refused, as he could feed better on fat sheep. The fowl threatened the wolf with the huntsman, as he would not eat the lean cow. The huntsman refused to shoot the wolf, as it was not fit to eat. The fowl then threatened the huntsman with the mouse. The huntsman replied, "Most welcome." But the mouse said that it was feeding on almonds and other nice things, and had no need to gnaw the leather-skin of the huntsman. The fowl then said, "I will tell the cat to eat thee." The mouse said, "The cat is my enemy in any case, and

will try to catch and eat me, wherever it comes across me, so what is the use of your telling the cat?" The fowl then begged the cat to eat the mouse. The cat agreed to do so whenever it was hungry: "Now," it added, "I do not care to do so." The fowl then became very angry, and threatened to bring little boys to worry the cat. The cat said, "Yes." The fowl then begged the little boys to snatch the cat one from the other, so that it might know what it was to be vexed. The boys, however, just then wanted to play and fight among themselves, and did not care to interrupt their own game. The fowl then threatened to get an old man to beat the boys. The boys said, "By all means." But the old man refused to beat the boys without any cause, and called the fowl a fool. The fowl then said to the Pír (old man), "I will tell the wind to carry away thy wool." The old man acquiesced; and the wind, when ordered by the fowl, with its usual perverseness, obeyed the fowl, and carried off the old man's wool. Then the old man beat the boys, and the boys worried the cat, and the cat ran after the mouse, and the mouse bit the huntsman in the waist, and the huntsman went after the wolf, and the wolf bit the cow, and the cow drank the water, and the water came down on the fire, and the fire burnt the thistle, and the thistle gave the coral to the fowl, and the fowl took back its coral.

2. The Story of the Golden Mouse who tells the Story of a Mouse and a Frog.

There was a kind of mice that had a golden body. They never went out of their hole. One day one of them thought: "I will go out and see the wonders of God's creation." So it did; and when thirty or forty yards from its hole, a cat, prowling for game, saw it come out from the hole. The cat, that was full of wiles, plotted to get near the hole, awaiting the return of the mouse, who, after its peregrinations, noticed the mouth of the hole closed by the wicked cat. The mouse then wished to go another way, and turned to the left, towards a tree, on which sat

concealed a crow, expecting to devour the mouse when it should run away from the cat. The crow then pounced on the mouse, who cried out to God, "O God, why have these misfortunes overtaken such a small being as myself? My only help is in thee, to save me from these calamities." The mouse was confused, and ran hither and thither, in vain seeking a refuge, when it saw another cat stealthily approaching it; and, in its perplexity, the mouse nearly ran into the cat's paws; but that cat had been caught in a hunter's net, and could do nothing. The crow, and the cat which was watching at the hole, saw that the mouse had got near another cat between the two. They thought that the mouse had fallen a victim to the second cat, and that it was no use remaining. It was the fortune of the mouse that they should be so deceived. The trembling mouse saw that the two enemies had gone. It thanked the Creator for having escaped from the cat and the crow, and it said, "It would be most unmanly of me not to deliver the cat in the net, as it has been the instrument of my safety; but then, if I set it free, it will eat me." The mouse was immersed in thought, and came to the conclusion to gnaw the net at a distance from the cat, and that as soon as the hunter should come in sight, the cat then, being afraid of the hunter, would seek its own safety, and not trouble itself about the mouse. "Thus I will free the cat from the hunter and the net, and deliver my own life from the cat," was the thought of the mouse. It then began to gnaw the net at a distance. The cat then said to the mouse, "If you want to save me, for God's sake, then gnaw the net round my throat, and not at a distance; that is no use to me when the hunter will come. You err if you think that I will eat you as soon as I get out. For all the faults, hitherto, have been on the side of cats, which you mice have never injured, so that, if you are magnanimous and release me, there is no such ungrateful monster in the world as would return evil for the unmerited good that I implore you to bestow on me." The golden mouse, which

was very wise, did not attend to this false speech, but continued to gnaw the net at a distance, so that, when the hunter came, there only remained the threads round the neck of the cat, which the mouse bit asunder at the last moment and then ran back into its hole. The cat bolted up the tree where the crow had sat, the huntsman saw that the cat had escaped, and that his net was gnawed in several places, so he took the net to get it repaired in the Bazaar.

Then the cat descended from the tree and said to herself, "The time of meals is over, it is no use to go home: I had better make friends with the mouse, entice it out of the hole, and eat it." This she did, and going to the hole, called out: "O faithful companion and sympathizing friend, although there has been enmity between cats and mice for a long time, thou hast, by God's order, been the cause of my release, therefore come out of the hole, and let us lay the foundation of our friendship." The mouse replied: "I once tried to come out, and then I fell from one danger into another. Now it is difficult for me to comply with your request. I have cut the threads encircling your throat, not out of friendship for you, but out of gratitude to God. Nor is our friendship of any use in this world, as you will gather from the story of

3. "The Frog and the Mouse."

The mouse then narrated: "There was once a mouse that went out for a promenade, and going into people's houses, found food here and there, and in the dawn of the next morning it was returning to its home. It came to a place where there was a large tank, round which there were flowers and trees; and a voice was heard from out of the tank. Coming near, it saw that it emanated from a being that had no hair on its body, no tail, and no ear. The mouse said to itself: 'What is this ill-formed being?' and thanked God that it was not the ugliest of creatures. With this thought the mouse, that was standing still, shook its head to and fro. The frog,

however, thought that the mouse was smitten with astonishment at his beauty and entranced with pleasure at his voice, and jumping out of the corner of the tank came near: 'I know, beloved, that you are standing charmed with my voice; we ought to lay the firm basis of our friendship, but you are sharper than I am, therefore go to the house of an old woman and steal from it a thread, and bring it here.' The mouse obeyed the order. The frog then said: 'Now tie one end to your tail and I will tie the other end to my leg, because I want to go to your house, where you have a large family and there are many other mice, so that I may know you from the others.' If again you visit me, the tank is large, my friends many, and you too ought to distinguish me from the rest. Again, when I want to see you I will follow the thread to your hole, and when you want to see me you will follow it to the tank.' This being settled, they parted. One day the frog wanted to see the mouse. Coming out of the tank he was going to its hole, when he saw the mouse-hawk, who pounced upon the frog as he was limping along, and flew up with him in its claws. This pulled the end to which the mouse was tied. It thought that its lover had come to the place and wanted to see it; so it came out, only to be dragged along in the air under the mouse-hawk. As the unfortunate mouse passed a Bazaar it called out: 'O ye Mussulmans, learn from my fate what happens to whoever befriends beings of a different species.'

"Now," said the golden mouse to the cat, "this is the story which teaches me what to do; and that is, to decline your friendship and to try never again to see your face."

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4. The Quail and the Fox.

The Quail said: I teach thee art.
Night and day I work at art;
Whoever lies, the shame is on his neck.

A quail and a fox were friends. The fox said: "Why should you not make me laugh some day?" The quail

replied, "This is easy." So they went to a Bazaar, where the quail, looking through the hole in the wall of a house, saw a man sitting, and his wife turning up and down the "samanak" sweetmeat with a big wooden ladle (much in the same way as the Turkish *rakat lokum*, or lumps of delight, are made). The quail then settled on the head of the man. The woman said to him, "Don't stir; I will catch it." Then the quail sat on the woman's head, so the man asked the woman to be quiet, as he would catch the quail, which, however, then flew back to the head of the man. This annoyed the wife, who struck at the quail with the wooden ladle, but hit instead the face of her husband, whose eye and beard were covered with the sweetmeat, and who thereupon beat his wife. When the fox saw this, he rejoiced and laughed greatly; and both the fox and quail returned to their home. After a time the fox said to the quail: "It is true that you have made me laugh, but could you feed me?" This the quail undertook to do, and with the fox went to a place where a woman was carrying a plate of loaves of bread to her husband in the fields. Then the quail repeated her tactics, and sat on the head of the woman, who tried to catch it with one hand. The quail escaped and settled on one shoulder, then on another, and so on till the woman became enraged, put the plate of bread on the ground, and ran after the quail, who, by little leaps, attracted her further and further away till she was at a considerable distance from it, when the fox pounced on the bread and appeased his hunger.

Some time after, the fox wanted to put the cleverness of the quail again to the test, and said: "You have made me laugh, you have fed me, now make me weep." The quail replied, "Why, this is the easiest task of all," so she took the fox to the gate of the town and called out: "O ye dogs of the Bazaar, come ye as many as ye are, for a fox has come to the gate!" So all the dogs, hearing this good news, assembled to hunt the fox, which, seeing the multitude of its enemies, fled till he reached a high place. Turn-

ing round, he saw the dogs following, so he jumped down and broke his back. The fox therefore helplessly sat down and said to the approaching quail: "O sympathizing companion, see how my mouth has become filled with mud and blood, and how my back has been broken. This is my fate in this world; now, could you kindly clean my mouth from mud and blood, as my end is near?" The intention of the fox was, that he should take the opportunity of this artifice to swallow the quail in revenge of her being the cause of its death. The quail, in her unwise friendship, began to clean the fox's mouth. The accursed fox caught her in his mouth; but the quail, which was intelligent and clever, said, "O beloved friend, your eating me is lawful, because I forgive you my blood, on condition that you pronounce my name, otherwise you will suffer an injury." The base fox, although full of wiles, clouded by approaching death, fell into the trap, and as soon as he said "O quail," his teeth separated, and the quail flew away from him and was safe, whilst the fox died.

II. Stories and Legends.

There is a story which seems to illustrate the fact that private hatred is often the cause of the injury that is ascribed to accident. A man slaughtered a goat, and kept it over-night in an outhouse. His enemy put a number of cats through the airhole, and when their noise awoke the master of the house he only found the bones of his goat. But he took their bones, and scattered them over the field of his enemy the same night; and the dogs came, smelling the bones, searched for them, and destroyed the wheat that was ripe for reaping. One blamed the cats, the other blamed the dogs; but both had the reward of their own actions.

Sulei was a man well known on the frontier of Chitrál for his eloquence. One day, as he was travelling, he met a man from Badakhshan, who asked him whether

he knew Persian. Sulei said, "No." "Then," replied the Badakhshi, "you are lost" [nobody, worthless]. Sulei at once rejoined, "Do you know Khowár?" (the language of Chitrál). "No," said the Badakhshi. "Then you too are lost," wittily concluded Sulei (to show that personal worth or eloquence does not depend on knowing any particular language).

It is related that beyond Upper Chitrár there is a country called *Shin* or Rashan. It is very beautiful, and its plains are gardens, and its trees bear much fruit, and its chunars (plane trees) and willows make it a shaded land. Its earth is red, and its water is white and tasty. They say that in ancient times the river of that district for a time flowed with milk without the dashing (of the waves) of water.

Besir is a place near Ayin towards Kafiristan. The inhabitants were formerly savage Kafirs, but are now subjects of the Mehter (Prince) of Chitrár. They carry loads of wood, and do not neglect the work of the Mehter. They are numerous and peaceful, and in helplessness like fowls, but they are still Kafirs; though in consequence of their want of energy and courage they are called "Kalásh." The people of Ayin say that in ancient times five savages fled into the Shidi Mount and concealed themselves there.

Shidi is below Ayin opposite Gherát on the east (whence Shidi is on the west). Between them is a river. It is said that these savages had to get their food by the chase. One day word came to them from God that "to-day three troops of deer will pass; don't interfere with the first, but do so with the others." When, however, the troops came, the savages forgot the injunctions of God, and struck the first deer. Now there was a cavern in the mountain where they lived, into which they took the two or three deer that they had killed and were preparing to cook, two being sent out to fetch water. By God's order the

lips of the cavern were closed, and the three men imprisoned in it. God converted the three into bees, whilst the two who had gone to fetch water fled towards Afghanistan. Thus were created the first honey-bees, who, finding their way out of the cavern, spread themselves and their sweet gift all over the world. This is a story told by the Kalàsh, who credit that the bees are there still; but it is difficult to get there, as the mountains are too steep, but people go near it and, pushing long rods into the hole of the cavern, bring them back covered with honey.

Shah Muhterim is the name of a Mehter (prince), the grandfather of the present Ruler of Chitrár. This Mehter was renowned as a descendant of fairies, who all were under his command. Whatever he ordered the fairies did. Thus some time passed. From among them he married a fairy, with whom he made many excursions. She bore him a daughter. Seven generations have passed since that time. This daughter is still alive, and her sign among the fairies is that her hair is white, which does not happen to ordinary fairies. Whenever a descendant of the Shah Muhterim leaves this transitory world for the region of permanence, all the fairies, who reside in the mountains of Chitrár, together with that white-haired lady, weep and lament, and their voices are clearly heard. This statement is sure and true, and all the men on the frontiers of Chitrár are aware of the above fact.

The People of Aujer (the Bœotia of Chitral).

There is a country "Aujer," on the frontier of Chitrár (or Chitrāl as we call it), the inhabitants of which in ancient times were renowned for their stupidity. One had taken service at Chitrár, and at a certain public dinner noticed that the King (Padishah) ate nothing. So he thought that it was because the others had not given anything to the king. This made him very sorry. He left the assembly, and reached home towards evening; there he prepared a

great amount of bread, and brought it next day to the council enclosure, beckoning to the king with his finger to come secretly to him. The king could not make this out, and sent a servant to inquire what was the matter; but the man would not say anything except that the king should come himself. On this the king sent his confidant to find out what all this meant. The man answered the inquiries of the confidant by declaring that he had no news or claim, but "as they all ate yesterday and gave nothing to the king, my heart has become burnt, and I have cooked all this bread for him." The messenger returned and told the king, who told the meeting, causing them all to laugh. The king, too, smiled, and said: "As this poor man has felt for my need, I feel for his;" and ordered the treasurer to open for him the door of the treasury, so that he might take from it what he liked. The treasurer took him to the gate, next to which was the treasurer's own house, where he had put a big water-melon, on which fell the eye of that stupid man from Aujer. He had never seen such a thing, and when he asked, "What is it?" the treasurer, knowing what a fool he had to deal with, said, "This is the egg of a donkey." Then he showed him the gold, silver, jewels, precious cloths, and clean habiliments of the treasury from which to select the king's present. The man was pleased with nothing, and said, "I do not want this; but, if you please, give me the egg of the donkey, then I shall indeed be glad." The treasurer and the king's confidant, consulting together, came to the conclusion that this would amuse the king to hear, and gave him the melon, with the injunction not to return to the king, but to take the egg to his house, and come after some nights (days). The fool was charmed with this request, went towards his home, but climbing a height, the melon fell out of his hand, rolled down towards a tree and broke in two pieces. Now there was a hare under that tree, which fled as the melon touched the tree. The fool went to his house full of grief, said nothing

to his wife and children, but sat mournfully in a corner. The wife said, "O man, why art thou sorry? and what has happened?" The man replied: "Why do you ask? there is no necessity." Finally, on the woman much cajoling him, he said: "From the treasury of the prince (mehter) I had brought the egg of the donkey; it fell from me on the road, broke, and the young one fled out from its midst. I tried my utmost, but could not catch it." The woman said: "You silly fellow! had you brought it, we might have put loads on it." The man replied, "You flighty thing! how could it do so, when it was still so young? Why, its back would have been broken." So he got into a great rage, took his axe, and cut down his wife, who died on the spot.

Once, a donkey having four feet, in this country of donkeys having two feet, put his head into a jar of jáo (barley), but could not extricate it again. So the villagers assembled, but could not hit on a plan to effect this result. But there was a wise man in that land, and he was sent for and came. He examined all the circumstances of the case, and finally decided that they should do him "Bismillah"; that is to say, that they should cut his throat with the formula, "in the name of God," which makes such an act lawful. When they had done this to the poor donkey, the head remained in the jar, and the wise man ordered them now to break the jar. This they did, and brought out the head of the donkey. The wise man then said: "If I had not been here, in what manner could you have been delivered of this difficulty?" This view was approved by all, even by the owner of the donkey.

Two brothers in that country of idiots, being tired of buying salt every day, decided on sowing it over their fields, so that it may bring forth salt abundantly. The grass grew up, and the grasshoppers came; and the brothers, fearing that their crop of salt would be destroyed,

armed themselves with bows and arrows to kill the grasshoppers. But the grasshoppers jumped hither and thither, and were difficult to kill; and one of the brothers hit the other by mistake with an arrow instead of a grasshopper, and he got angry, and shot back and killed his brother.

A penknife once fell into the hands of this people, so they held a council in order to consider what it was. Some thought it was the young one of a sword, the others that it was the baby of an axe, but that its teeth had not yet come out. So the argument waxing hot, they fell to fight one another, and many were wounded and killed.

A number of these people, considering that it was not proper that birds alone should fly, and that they were able to do so, clad themselves in posteens (some of which are made from the light down of the Hindukush eagle), and threw themselves down from a great height, with the result that they reached the ground killed and mangled.

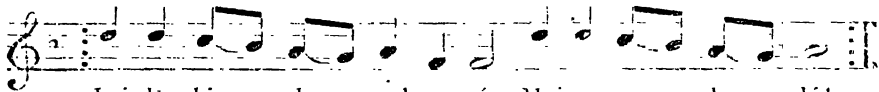
III. Songs.

A Song (of evidently recent date, as the influence on it of Persian poetry is obvious).

The Confession of the Soul.

1. (*He.*) If thy body be as lithe as (the letter) Alif (ا), thy eye is as full as (the letter) Nûn (ن).
   If thou art Laila, this child (or lover) is Majnún (referring to the well-known story of these true lovers).
2. (*She.*) If thou art the Prince of the Sultan of Rûm (Turkey)
   Come and sit by me, free from constraint;
   My eye has fallen on thee, and I now live.
3. My friend had scarcely come near me—why, alas, has he left?
   My flesh has melted from these broken limbs.
4. How could I guard against the enmity of a friend?
   May God now save me from such grief!

5. (*He.*) Were I to see 200 Fairies and 100,000 Houris,
   I should be a Káfir (infidel), O my beloved!
   If my thoughts then even strayed from thee.
6. Yea, not the Houri nightingale, nor my own soul and eyes as Houris,
   Would, on the day of judgment, divert my thought from thee.
7. I envy the moth, for it can fly
   Into the fire in which it is burnt (whereas I cannot meet thee).
8. (*She.*) My friend, who once came nigh me, suddenly left me—to weep.
   My grief should move the very highest heaven.
   A coral bed with its root has been torn out and gone.
9. A ship of pilgrims (Calendárs) has sunk, and yet the world does not care.
   The end of all has been a bad name to me.
10. (*He.*) On this black earth how can I do (sing) thy praise?
    Imbedded in the blue heaven (of my heart) thou wilt find it;
    And yet, O child (himself), how great a failure (and below thy merits)!
11. Before thy beauty the very moon is nothing,
    For sometimes she is full and sometimes half.
    May God give thee to me, my perfect universe!
12. (*She.*) If an angel were a mortal like myself,
    It would be ashamed to see my fate (unmoved).
13. (*He.*) O angel! strangely without pity,
    Thou hast written her good with my evil (linked our fates).
14. (*Both.*) All have friends, but my friend is the Chief (God),
    And of my inner grief that friend is cognizant;
    His light alone loves our eyes and soul.
15. Break with the world, its vanities, its love;
    Leave ignorance, confess, and let thy goal be heaven!

The following is an attempt to render the pretty tune of a more worldly Laila and Majnûn song, which reminds one of the "Yodeln" of the Tyrolese. It was sung to me by Taighûn Shah, the poet-minstrel of the Raja, to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar. The Chitráli language, it will be perceived, is musical.

G. W. L.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ANCIENT PELASGI AND EIR DESCENDANTS.

By Pasco Wassa Pasha,
Governor-General of the Libanus, Hon. Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature,
And Sir Patrick Colquhoun,
President of the Royal Society of Literature, M.A., LL.D., Q.C., Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Preface.

The following pages are the result of the combined researches of two scholars of different nationalities, who, without personal knowledge or communication, simultaneously arrived at the same conclusion. This similarity of views and a lucky accident led to a correspondence resulting in a dual authorship. In this co-operation, the portions which emanate from the Shkypetar scholar will be readily recognised, even where not specially distinguished; nor would his British colleague have ventured to put forward or been able to support conclusively his opinions without the aid and elucidations received from his coadjutor.

The authors seek to prove, primarily, that historically, ethnologically, and philologically, the present Shkypetari are the lineal descendants of the ancient Pelasgians in race and speech; secondly, that the besiegers of Troy were Pelasgians; and, thirdly, that the heroic poems of their bards are the foundation of those which have survived in another language.

It required all the courage of conviction to hazard a proposition so at variance with the accepted belief of centuries; they nevertheless feel assured that impartial examination will result in the acceptance of a view which,

save as to the question of originality, in no wise detracts from the intrinsic merit of the greatest Epic in the world.

THE AUTHORS.

The dark shades of Antiquity possess an indescribable charm; and the desire to ascertain the manners and customs of men of byegone ages has ever formed an attractive study, nor is it a useless one, be it only to show, that men in all ages were essentially animated by the same spirit, however much they may have differed in language and some details of manners and customs.

The Greeks in their Agora, and the Romans in their Forum, the Egyptians in their market-place, behaved very much after the like fashion, nor a whit more honestly than merchants on the Exchange in London, or on the Parisian or Vienna Bourse.

The more remote the period, the more difficult it becomes to extract, from the meagre information sporadically spread in ancient writings, authentic information of prehistoric times, so that a trace more or less faint survives to the present generation till aided by modern researches, improved scholarship, and the developed sciences of ethnology, geology, and philology, together with the discovery and interpretation of ancient monuments, a new light breaks through the murky haze of time and bridges over the long retrospect of centuries.

INTRODUCTION.

To ascertain with positive accuracy who the Pelasgi, existing historically 4,000 years before our Era, were, appears at first sight a hopeless task, the more so because such traces as exist are at best based, not only on the insecure foundation of legend, but are disfigured by poetry and distorted by myth.

Thus all such examination must be in some degree speculative and crave the aid of analogy: The earliest historical era is always regarded by it and others as

autochthonic until the discovery of some still earlier people deprives it of this vain-glorious title.* It remains, however, undisputed that the Athenians, who claimed it and paraded the τέττιξ, or grasshopper, in their caps as the ostensible claim to an autochthonic title, were modern when compared with the Pelasgi, if indeed they were not identical with that race.

In the following pages, it is trusted, it will be satisfactorily shown —

That the Greek-speaking race preceded the Pelasgian in the same area by many centuries.

That it will be shown by the evidence of their language that they were of the Aryan stock.

That the Pelasgi subjugated and enslaved the antecedent race as they had in their turn previously extruded the Iberians.

That the Pelasgi adopted for general purposes of intercommunication the more developed Greek language when the separation of these different tribes had rendered their vernacular mutually incomprehensible.

That many of these tribes, and notably the Athenians, entirely lost their own speech and assumed that of the conquered nation, while many remained bilingual.

That the Greek historians, though Pelasgic by race, had lost all trace of their nationality, and considered themselves Greek as well in origin, as in language.

That more modern commentators fell into the same error from an ignorance of the records which the acumen and industry of Young, Champollion, Birch, Rougé, Mariette, and Lepsius have deciphered, and that we must look to the monumental history of ancient Egypt for a solution of the difficulty and correction of what was a pardonable misapprehension.

That they have partially been led astray by not making

* The late Dr. Latham lays down this rule: he says, "I trace back till I can trace no further, and the most remote race I technically term autochthonic; it is, therefore, a relative term."

due allowance for the period elapsed since the first colonization of the Greek area, and the very remote epoch at which it was first occupied by an Aryan race.

That the modern Albanian is the direct descendant of the ancient Pelasgic form of speech.

That the Albanians have preserved, even to the present day, the manners and customs of their predecessors in race.

That the heroes of the Iliad and Odyssey bore Pelasgic names, significant of their characteristics, unexplainable by Greek roots.

That their manners, policy, and customs were identical with those of their descendants, the modern Albanians.

That the Homeric poems were first promulgated by the Pelasgian bards in their own language, and subsequently rendered into Greek for the use of the various Græcisized Pelasgic tribes.

That the older legendary Greek history is so overladen with myth and misconception, poetry if you will, as to render its interpretation difficult and embarrassing.

That stripped of these myths, and reduced to matter of fact, the early history of those countries becomes plain, intelligible, and reasonable, and its perversions apparent.

That poetry disregards truth as a matter of inherent necessity.

Had it not been for the inscribed monuments of Egypt, no clue would have existed as to the early history of the Pelasgi; and the gross errors of the Greek antiquaries would never have been discovered. All that could have been surmised would have been, that it was an Aryan race of great antiquity, proceeding from the hive of nations, whether that may have been the Ural mountains, as maintained by Redhouse, whence they travelled east and west by way of the Caspian, or from the high Indian plateau, as has been hitherto maintained.

(To be continued.)

AN ATTEMPTED FRENCH EMBASSY TO PERSIA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF CARDINAL RICHELIEU.

(INCLUDING A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED "INSTRUCTION" BY LOUIS XIII.)

To the student of the development of French influence and civilisation outside France, there are few countries, in Asia or elsewhere, where traces of Cardinal Richelieu's handiwork are not to be found. As minister of His Most Christian Majesty, and himself a Prince of the Roman Church, he laboured, no doubt, for the propagation of the Catholic faith; but as a statesman, and, notably, as general superintendent of navigation and commerce, he never overlooked the economical and material interests of France, considered, of course, from the point of view of the times he lived in. It was, for instance, during the ministry of the great Cardinal, that the first efforts were made to establish regular and official communications between France and Persia.

Memoirs and statements of the day show that Paris was at that time frequently visited by Armenian merchants, subjects of the king, or, as he was then styled, the *Sophy* of Persia; and the conquests and victories of Shah Abbas I. over the Turks, the capture of Ormuz by this prince, from the Portuguese, at that period subjected to the Spanish crown, necessarily drew attention to the kingdom of Irân, and to its sovereign. Moreover, the expeditions of the maritime nations of the West, namely, the English and Dutch, to the Indian Ocean, where the latter took possession of the remnants of the colonial empire of Portugal, which Spain was unable to defend, filled the mind and stimulated the activity of the Cardinal. But, not having at his disposal, at that moment, a fleet sufficiently powerful

for him to send vessels beyond the Cape of Good Hope, he meditated a return to the old commercial routes to India and the far East by encouraging traffic through the Mediterranean; and the preponderating influence which France had secured in the ports of the Levant, thanks to the good relations maintained by her kings with the Sultan ever since the beginning of the 16th century, would have made him master of this lucrative trade, which had formerly enriched the republics of Genoa and of Venice, now on the eve of decay. Nor should we lose sight of the fact, that in familiar intercourse with the prime minister of Louis XIII. was a man who, to political qualities of a high character, united an ardent zeal both for his faith and for the order to which he belonged. Père Joseph du Tremblay, a Capuchin, was perhaps the most faithful of all the Cardinal's collaborators, and he was in a position to place at his master's beck and call a vast number of energetic agents, his brothers of the habit of St. Francis, to whom was entrusted a large field for labour and propaganda.

We shall find all these various factors united and set in motion in the first attempts towards establishing relations between France and Persia.

An anonymous and undated document, which may, however, be ascribed to the end of the year 1625, or beginning of 1626, and which has been preserved in the archives of the French Foreign Office,* throws light on the subject.

According to it, there was at this time in Holland an Armenian who had been entrusted by Shah Abbas with the mission of making overtures, either to the King of France or to the King of Spain, with a view of coming to an understanding with one of them to oppose the Turks, from whom the *Sophy* had taken Baghdad (at that epoch called Babilone).

The Persian prince moreover threatened the whole of Mesopotamia, and subsequently Syria and Aleppo, having secured the assistance of the Bedouins, and of the Emir,

* *Correspondance Politique: Perse.* Vol. i., folios 53 et suivantes

Fakhr-Eddin, Chief of the Druses; and it was the Shah's opinion, that a Christian power that would attack the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, and make itself master of the isles of the Archipelago, would create a valuable diversion in furtherance of his views.

The Persian envoy had, doubtless, not put the unknown author of the document in question alone in possession of his confidence, for the latter reports, that whilst passing through Brussels, the Marquis Spinola, commanding the troops in the Spanish Netherlands, and Count Schwarzenburg, the German Emperor's Ambassador, had insisted that he should hasten to Madrid to inform the Count-Duke of Olivares, Philip the IV's. Prime Minister, of the Persian proposals, but that he had preferred staying in Paris and communicating the projects to the French Court.

It is not known if any great heed was paid by the Cardinal to these somewhat chimerical revelations; but in any case they confirmed his intention to send a representative of Louis XIII. to Persia: it was important to thwart Spanish interests in that country, and to endeavour to interpose between Shah Abbas and the Porte, in order to re-establish peace in the East. A prosecutor of the traditional policy of Francis I. and of Henry IV., and an adversary of the ascendency of the House of Austria in Europe, Richelieu could leave no stone unturned to prevent the disruption of the Ottoman Empire, by means of an alliance between the Persian monarch, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Spain, through which the latter, already master of Southern Italy and Sicily would, by the conquest of the Archipelago, have acquired preponderating power in the Mediterranean.

The Court of France selected for this mission to Persia a man acquainted with the East, who had visited it once before in the service of Louis XIII.—Antony Deshayes, lord of Raimbaudière, and subsequently of Courmesmin (or Courmesnin), a gentleman of the chamber, counsellor and steward in the royal household, bailiff and governor of

Montargis-en-Gâtinais in the Duchy of Orleans,* had been sent in 1621 to Constantinople to obtain from the Sultan the punishment of certain Armenians, who threatened to drive the Catholic Cordeliers out of the Holy Land. He had succeeded in the negotiation, and had been, later on, to Jerusalem, where, after an imposing ceremonial, in which he entered the city sword in hand and on horseback—a spectacle never before witnessed, but one sanctioned by the Porte—he, acting on instructions, founded the French consulate in Palestine.†

In spite of his numerous titles, Deshayes was of no very distinguished *noblesse de robe* (nobility of the robe). His only known ancestor was Andrew Deshayes, his father, who had been a simple *avocat* (advocate) in the Parliament of Paris, and had only succeeded in raising himself slightly by becoming equerry to the Duc de Nemours. For all that, the family of Deshayes, which bore a striking coat of arms on its shield, viz., *Trois haies en bande* (three hedges in band), began to look up when the important missions and charges entrusted to Antony made him a man of mark, and one entitled, by the governorship of Montargis, to claim *noblesse d'épée* (nobility of the sword). By his marriage with Marie Chapelle, widow of Pierre Faure, lord of Bérargues, a lawyer, he had two sons, viz., Louis, to whom we shall refer later on, and John, already deceased, Prior of Montargis, and several daughters.‡ As was the case with several other families of similar origin, the Villeroy, the Le Tellier, the Colbert, for instance, the Deshayes of Courmesnin were in a fair way of founding a branch of more or less great nobles, by virtue of the important part they played in State affairs. And it will be seen later on, that

* At present: chef-lieu d'arrondissement du département du Loiret.

† An account of this mission was published shortly afterwards, under the title of *Voyage to the Levant*, undertaken, by command of the king, in 1621, by le Sr. D. C. Paris: Adrian Terapinart, 1624.

‡ Archives of the Foreign Office at Paris. *Political Correspondence, Persia*, vol. i., folios 48 *et seq.*

if no great results followed, the blame can be laid on the shoulders of Louis Deshayes himself.

When it was decided that a diplomatic mission should be sent to Persia, in the name of the King of France, an "instruction" was drawn up, according to the custom of the times, to assist the person charged with the mission in his negotiations. A draft of this "instruction" * is still in existence, corrected apparently by the very hand of the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Raymond Phélyppeaux d'Herbault, seigneur de la Vrillière. The handwriting, and still more the style, of this document bear the stamp of the preceding century; the sentences are somewhat obscure and confused. Being in all probability the work of Père Joseph, the Capuchins are specially recommended, and a very marked spirit of Catholic proselytism pervades the whole. A notable feature, from the economical and commercial standpoint, is the striving,—in perfect accordance with the ideas of the period,—after a monopoly by France, and to the detriment of the other maritime nations, of the Levantine trade. But apart from these particulars, which may cause some surprise to readers of to-day, and which it is but fair to attribute to the systems in vogue in the 17th century, the document gives expression to just and lofty political views, such as, for instance, the very distinct notion of the necessity of re-establishing peace between the Ottoman Empire and Persia and consequently maintaining the balance of power in the East, a sincere fidelity to Turkey, the traditional ally of France, and the firm determination to do nothing contrary to the interests of the Sultan. It will be seen, too, that it was Antony Deshayes, the father, who had been selected for the mission; and there was wisdom in choosing a man of experience who knew the men and manners of the East,

* See the *Dossier Deshayes du Cabinet des Titres*, of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris. The arms are to be found on the seals of the letter of the younger Deshayes in the Archives of the Foreign Office in Paris. *Turquie*, vol. iii., fos. 258 *et seq.*

and who, five years before, had brought to a successful issue negotiations at Constantinople and at Jerusalem. Unfortunately a change was made, and his son Louis Deshayes was despatched in his place. He was provided with the following document (the abstract of the translation of which will be found at the end of this article, and the contents of which may be briefly described as throwing light on the rivalry that then existed between France, Russia, and Spain; on the traditional friendship of France for Turkey; and on the protection which France gave to Christians in various parts of the East. The document also illustrates the relations existing between English and Dutch commercial and religious enterprise, and mentions that the stipulation of Louis XIII. on the marriage of his sister to the English King should ensure the free exercise of Roman Catholic worship at the Court of St. James):—

INSTRUCTION BAILÉE AU SIEUR DESHAYES COURMENIN CONSEILLER & MAÎTRE D'HOSTEL DU ROY SUR LE VOYAGE QU'IL VA FAIRE EN PERSE.

Le Roy a assez faict cognoistre par touttes ses actions depuis qu'il a pleu à Dieu de l'appeler à l'administration et régime de ce Royaume très chrestien que le but principal où Il tendoit et la fin de ses actions alloyent à affermir et augmenter la religion Catholique apostolique et Romayne qu'il professe et en laquelle moyennant la grâce de la divine Ma^té Il espère vivre et mourir, et de fait Il n'a laissé aulcun lieu dans son Royaume où il ne l'aye establye, et par ung soin digne de sa piété il a recherché à soulager les Catholiques affligez et mesme des eglizes entières hors de son royaume non seullement en Europe, ce qui se justifie par la peine que sa Ma^té s'est donnée contractant le mariage de la sérénissime Royne de la grande bretaigne sa sœur par lequel et par plusieurs autres actes Il a stipulé l'exercice asseuré et libre de la d^te Religion en la court d'Angleterre. Mais allant plus loin imitant la piété des Roys ses prédecesseurs a pris ung soin particulièr

de l'eglize désolée d'orient et par plusieurs fois empesché la ruyne du S^ct Sepulchre de n^re Seigneur le bannissement des Catholiques des S^ts lieux et dans les mesmes contrées faict envoyer nombre de religieux de divers ordres pour y prescher et enseigner l'evangile, lesquelz soubs l'apuy de son nom et de son auctorité ont travaillé avec beaucoup de fruict pour la religion et donné grande consolation aux Catholiques des lieux et du contentement à ceux des autres pais sçachant que leurs frères estoyent repérez de la parolle de Vérité et des sacrements de l'églize catholique. Mais comme aux œuvres de charité ce n'est pas assez d'avoir la pensée de les entreprendre ou d'en produire quelques unes, il est necessaire pour les rendre méritoires de les continuer sans relasche, et aussy Sa Ma^té portée d'un zèle très louable pour l'exaltation et propagation de nostre s^te foy ne se contente pas de l'avoir asseurée dans l'empire du Turc mais ayant sceu qu'en celuy de Perse elle y avoit en cy devant de bons commencements qui avoient esté anéantiz par l'ambition des Espagnolz, Sa Ma^té faict desseing de relever ce qui estoit tombé et de procurer aux subietz de cette monarchie de Perse qui sont enfans du mesme père et racheptez par le mèsme sang de Jésus Christ, le libre et asseuré exercice de leur religion a pour cet effet résolu d'envoyer quelque personnage de vertu de par de la qui peust jetter les fondemens d'une si pieuse entreprise et d'autant que il seroit difficille de disposer la volonté du Sophy sans luy proposer quelque advantage pour luy et ses estatz et qu'aussy il est impossible d'affermir la religion catholique apostolique et Romaine en Oryent tant que le commerce y sera libre aux Anglois et hollandois lesquels mesnent des ministres avec eux qui par leurs dogmes et faux enseignementz attirent quelques esprits foibles en leur créance, ce qui ne peut estre esvité, se rendant maître absolu du commerce, duquel outre le gain des ames qui est celuy que Sa Ma^té recherche, son royaume pourroit tirer de notables advantages, Elle n'a pas estimé devoir rejecter ce prétexte spécieux qui peut servir à un si utille effect, d'autant

plus que Sa Ma[té] est pressée et solicitée par nombre de marchands de sa ville de Marseille de leur départir en cela son assistance royalle résolus d'entreprendre ce négoce à la gloire de Sa Ma[té] et utilitté de son Roy[me] pour cet effect Sa Ma[té] mémorative des services qui luy ont esté rendus par le sieur Deshayes Courmesmin l'un de ses con[ers] et M[res] d'hostel ordinaires bailly et gouverneur de Montargis en ses voyages de Constantinople, Hierusalem et autres en Europe l'a choisy pour celuy de Perse qui se présente et a voulu le présent mémoire luy estre baillé pour luy servir d'instruction des choses qu'il aura à faire et traicter pour son service tant avecq le Roy de perse, officiers de sa cour que les governeurs, magistrats et autres des provinces de son royaume.

Le subiect veritable pour lequel le d[t] S[t] des hayes est envoyé estant pour establir la religion catholique en Perse et en se faisant de rendre la france maitresse du négoce de ce pays il importe de se conduire de sorte en cette nouvelle entreprise qu'en voulant profficter d'un costé l'on ne vienne à perdre d'un autre autant & plus que ce que l'on auroit acquis, il est donc necessaire de prendre ses précautions et sûreté vers le Grand Seigneur auquel nos desseings venant a donner jalouzie il empescheroit aisément pour qu'il fault que les religieux qu'on envoyera en Perse et le traffic qu'on prétend y establir passant dans les eschelles lesquelles sont assises sur la mer Mediterranée jusques où l'empire de Perse ne s'estend pas.

Le S[r] Deshayes s'acheminera donc à Constantinople et après avoir veu and communiqué avec le S[r] de Césy son ambassadeur il demandera audience & fera entendre au Grand Seigneur et à ses ministres que le subject pour lequel Sa Ma[té] l'envoye en Perse est pour rompre l'intelligence qui commence d'estre entre le d[t] Roy de Perse et celuy d'Espagne en quoy Sa Hautesse a grand interest puisque il est evident que les d[ts] Roys entreprennent souvent sur ce qui est soubsmis a l'empire ottoman lesquelz desseinz l'oseroient beaucoup moings faire lorsqu'ils

ne pourroient plus se promettre d'appuy ni assistance l'un de l'autre.

Qu'ilz sçavent que la grandeur d'Espagne et de sa maison est dommageable à la France, la seule en Chrestienté qui tend a une monarchie universelle que le principal moyen pour affoiblir est de leur oster le commerce par lequel ceste maison subsiste & se relève et comme le plus grand advantage et secours qu'ils tirent est des Indes d'orient & d'ócident et que pour les oster aux dernières il y a des compagnies puissantes establyes tant en France qu'en Hollande de mesure l'on est resolu de penser a celles d'orient, ce qui pourroit réussir par le moyen d'une résidence de marchands françois qui s'establiroyent à Hispahan lesquelz y achepteroient des danrées qui y croissent et celles qui leur seroient apportées de plus loin sans hazard quelconque ruineroyent le proffit des portugais et les faisant venir par les eschelles d'Alep, d'Alexandrie ou Smyrne bonnifieroyent les douanes du Grand Seigneur adioustant le d[t] Deshayes pour lever toutes difficultéz que Sa Ma[té] n'entend point qu'en vertu des Capitulations cy-devant faictes qui règlent les droictz qu'ont a payer les François dans les terres du Grand Seigneur soit faict aucun préiudice à Sa Hautesse. Au contraire elle consent que ce qui a accoutumé d'estre payé par les perses arméniens ou arabes le soit aussy par ses subjectz qui feront entrer des marchandises venant de perse, demandant seulement qu'il soit faict tariffe sur laquelle un chacun puisse faire son comte, sans que pour quelque cause que ce soit elle puiss estre acreue.

Les ministres de la porte ayant esté rendus capables de ces raisons le d[t] S[r] Deshayes fera toutte diligence pour se rendre à la cour du Sophy où estant arrivé luy fera demandé audience et luy presentera les lettres de Sa Ma[té] l'asseurant de son affection et parfaicte amityé et luy fera entendre qu'ayant sçeu qu'il avoit rompu l'alliance qu'il avoit avec le Roy d'Espagne Sa Ma[té] l'avoit voullu faire rechercher d'entrer avec elle en la mesme

alliance et par une conjonctiun tres estroite entre eulx advancer leurs communes affaires [et] interests au bénéfice de leurs subjects luy desclarant néantmoins que Sa Ma^té qui procède en toutes choses sincèrement et de bonne foy desire avoir amityé avec luy sans vouloir rompre l'aliance qui est entre elle et le Grand Seigneur mais comme amy des deux s'entremettre de leurs differendz s'il en survenoit et pour leur bien commun procurer qu'il pust entre eux et leurs empires une bonne et ferme paix.

Sy cette proposition venoit a estre rejettée par le d^t Roy de perse et qu'il ne voulust contracter alliance avecq sa Ma^té qu'à la charge [de] celle du Turc, le d^t Deshayes n'entrera en aulcun traicté au contraire sans faire demeure en Perse advisera a son revenir. Mais aussy trouvant le d^t Roy disposé à ce que Sa Ma^té desire le d^t Sieur Deshayes luy proposera en premier lieu de permettre dans ses estatz l'exercice de la religion catholique luy faisant cognoistre que c'est ung moyen pour s'asseurer de l'amityé de tous les Chrestiens et particulièrement de ses subjectz qui sont de la créance de Jésus desquelz il sera tousjours comme Il a esté par le passé très bien et fidellement assisté, si ouy que Sa Ma^té espère qu'il y condescendra aisément pour ce qu'elle desire son amityé sur le rescit qui lui a esté faict de ses vertus et particulièrement le bon accueil qu'il a cy devant faict aux religieux carmes et dominiquains qui estoyent dans Hispahan lesquelz, comme estant espagnols, ne se sont pas bien comportés avecq luy lors de la prise d'Ormus mais qu'il verra tant par la conduitte des religieux ses subjectz que Sa Ma^té desire introduire qui sont de l'habit de S^ct François que par la sienne, qu'elle et ce qui en vient ont une conduitte bien différente des Espagnolz, ceux-cy désirant tenir par force des places et Sa Ma^té seullement posséder son affection sur laquelle et sur sa bonne foy elle veut establir toute la seureté du négoce, qu'elle a sceu qu'il avoit cy devant envoyer vers elle, qu'elle est tres desploisante de n'avoir veu ceux qu'il luy avoit dépeschez affin que par le

bon traictement qu'ilz eusent receu en sa court Ilz luy eusent peu dire l'estime qu'elle faict de ce qui vient de sa part, bref le S[r] Deshayes n'obmettera rien pour persuader le d[t] roy que Sa Ma[té] le cherist, pour le disposer à recepvoir les pères capussins et d'entrer en traicté avecq elle.

Il y a deux sortes de conditions qui tendent à mesme fin, l'une d'exclure du négoce de levant les anglois, hollandois et vénitiens dont le commerce [est] si préjudiciable à Sa Ma[té]; ceux-cy ne pouvant en Europe subsister sans son apuy osent neantmoins en levant entreprendre contre ce qui est de son auctorité et de son service et bien souvent la passion qu'ilz ont de se rendre considérables pardelà faict qu'ilz se joignent aux ambassadeurs d'Angleterre et hollande et avecq eux choquent ce qui est de la religion et concertent avec eux pour faire que le patriarche soit schismatique et opposé au St. Siège, ce qui blesse de sorte Sa Ma[té] que ne pouvant plus tolérer une telle conduitte elle est forcée de se resoudre désloigner peu a peu ces nations du commerce de l'Orient sans touttes fois leur faire aucune violence.

Pour y parvenir le moyen le plus seur ayant esté trouvé d'establir en perse une résidence de marchands, pour s'impatroniser du traffic, le d[t] Deshayes en fera l'ouverture et comme il a esté dict qu'il y en a de deux sortes l'une l'establissement de la Compagnie en Hispahan qui d'eux mesmes mènent le négoce l'autre de traicter avecq le roy de perse de faire conduire en alep touttes les marchandises appartenant à ses subjectz pour par ses facteurs estre delivrez aux françois et non à autres le d[t] S[r] Deshayes advisera aux moyens plus propres pour faire agréer l'une des deux conditions et tirer asseurance du d[t] Roy de Perse.

Celle qui serait la plus désirée seroit l'establissement des marchands en perse mais comme il sera difficille de la faire agréer, le d[t] Sophy faisant luy mesme le traffic

ordinaire dont Il tire un grand gain, il faudra s'atacher au second party pour l'effet de quoy de d[t] S[r] Deshayes par l'advis des marchands qui s'en vont avecq luy après en avoir concerté avecq les consulz de la Ville de Marseille establira un prix aux soyes et danrées qui seront rendues en Alep lequel sera reiglé de sorte qu'il ne puisse Jamais estre augmenté il conviendra aussy de la forme du payement du temps et des especes et taschera à faire que partye du prix des marchandises soit acquitté en danrées de ce royaume pour y conserver l'or et l'argent.

De cela il arrivera trois choses, l'une que les Venitiens, Anglois et Hollandois seront contraincts de passer par les mains des françois et d'achepter d'eux les soies et autres danrées qu'ilz ne pourront plus utilement débiter ailleurs, l'autre que les subjectz de Sa Ma[té] tireront ung grand proffict de ce négoce, la troisième que les corsaires ne seront plus à craindre parceque les marchans venant déposer aux Eschelles par caraves reiglées, les temps pris de leur enlèvement en iselles des marchandises, les vaisseaux iront de conserve pour les charger et en si grand nombre que les corsaires ne les pouvant plus espérer grand gain à la mer, ils seront contrainctz de l'abandonner dont s'en suivra que le commerce estant seur & libre il en résultera de grandes utilitez au royaume. Car outre le gain que les particuliers feront, au besoin Sa Majesté pourra estre servye de leurs vaisseaux qu'ilz feront construire fortz et grands parce que n'allant qu'en des saisons reiglez aux soyes il y aura pour eux plus de proffict d'avoir peu de navires qui soyent grands et bien armés. A quoy le dict sieur Deshayes ne manquera pas de les convier et de les engager par leur propre interest à avoir de bons vaisseaux qui puissent asseurer leur négoce et servir à Sa Ma[té], laquelle remet tant à luy qu'aux marchands qui l'accompagneront déstablir le priz aux marchandises leur recommandant seullement qu'il soit le plus modéré qu'il se pourra affin que

non seullement les marchands mais tous les subjectz de Sa Ma[té] en reçoivent plus de bénéfice.

Faict à Paris le XVIII[e] jour de febvrier 1626.

(signé) LOUIS.

It was a custom very frequently met with under the ancient *régime* in France, to grant to a son the office held by his father, whilst the latter was yet living, and with this reversion the young man took the titles before he discharged the duties of the post. In this way Louis Deshayes was, like his father, counsellor of state, steward of the king, and bailiff and governor of Montargis when still under twenty-five years of age, for he was born in the first year of the century. We find him, in fact, enjoying his dignities when sent on a mission to Denmark and Sweden towards the end of 1624.* In spite of his youth, he seems to have succeeded fairly well; and his father, who was in high favour with the king and Cardinal Richelieu, must have found no great difficulty in having his son substituted for him as envoy to Persia; and Louis betook himself in the first place to Constantinople, in accordance with his instructions.

In his first journey to the East, Antony Deshayes had reached the Danube viá Lorraine and Alsace, had descended that river to Belgrade, and then, following almost the track of the present railway by Nisch, Sofia, Philippopolis and Adrianople, had gained Constantinople. Louis Deshayes, unable to pass through the Emperor's dominions, took another route, which had often been followed in the previous century and which is still frequented: through northern Italy, Venice, and the Adriatic, he reached Ragusa, and traversing Sclavonia, Bulgaria, and Thrace, he, on the 29th of June, 1626, arrived at his first destination, not without having endured great fatigue, but with all the security which a Frenchman enjoyed whilst on Ottoman territory. Louis was still quite a young man—he

* Archives in the Foreign Office, Paris: *Political Correspondence: Denmark*, fols. 20 *et seq.*, and fol. 35.

was scarcely twenty-six years of age—of slight figure, and his face somewhat disfigured by a strawberry mark. For all that, he was well satisfied with himself, proud of his mission to Denmark and Sweden, confident of protection at court and especially of the favour of the queen-mother, Marie de Medicis: he was eaten up by ambition, and he looked upon his mission to Persia as the precursor of his appointment to reform the French establishments in the Levant and even to the Embassy at Constantinople.

The holder of that important post was at that moment Philippe de Harlay, Comte de Césy, a member of the great parliamentary family of Harlay, which gave France so many ministers, magistrates, and eminent prelates. At the time of Louis Deshayes's journey to the East, M. Césy was already deeply involved in the financial troubles which filled with bitterness his long embassy—of nearly twenty years—in Turkey. For the good of the service, and in the interest of his fellow-countrymen, he had become answerable for large sums of money which the ill-will of the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles, then sole mistress of the commerce of the Levant, did not enable him to pay. Again, the situation of the Ottoman Empire, both at home and abroad, was much disturbed; and the influence of the European ambassadors was not great with the Sultan's ministers, who were frequently removed and even put to death by the turbulent corps of Janissaries. This is what Louis Deshayes would not understand. In spite of the very cordial manner in which he was received by the representative of his king, it was not long before he began to intrigue against him: he entered into communication with M. de Césy's creditors, spoke to them in assuring tones, and did his best to conciliate their good-will to the prejudice of the ambassador. His letters to the King, to the Cardinal, and to M. d'Herbault, were soon filled with recriminations against M. de Césy, because the latter had not quickly enough procured for him an audience at the Porte. The ambassador vainly endeavoured to convince

him that the moment was not an opportune one,—that with the Janissaries in open revolt, the ministers of the Sultan had no time to devote to his affairs; besides which, they would hear of no arrangement with the Shah as long as the Persians occupied Bagdad and Mesopotamia, and that the contemplated French mission to Shah Abbas would undoubtedly be viewed with suspicion by the Porte. De Césy added, what was true, that he had himself written to Paris discouraging the idea of a mission to Persia under the actual circumstances. Deshayes grew more and more irritable, denounced M. de Césy to the French court, accused him of an absurd design against himself, and finally took his departure suddenly towards the end of August, leaving his suite without any resources or instructions, and not even waiting for M. Herbault's reply to a plan which he had submitted to him on the 12th of July, and which suggested that he should proceed to the Holy Land, in order thence to reach Bagdad with the assistance of the Bedouins of the Great Syrian Desert. It is true that the plague had broken out at the Embassy house at Pera, and had forced the ambassador to take refuge at Kourou-Tcheshme on the Bosphorus, where he was unable to communicate with Stamboul and consequently with the Porte. Deshayes returned to France by sea and through Italy, and at Rome he once more wrote disparagingly of M. de Césy. Louis Deshayes had failed in what he had undertaken, and he was never to visit Persia.*

A couple of years later, where the ambitious young Deshayes had failed, some humble monks succeeded: the Capuchins, Père Pacifique de Provins and Père Gabriel de Paris, reached Persia, were well received by the sovereign, who gave them every facility for founding a religious house at Ispahan, and entrusted them with a letter for

* For the incidents during M. L. Deshayes' stay in Constantinople, see the Archives of the French Foreign Office: *Turkey*, vol. iii. *passim*; and at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the *Manuscrist Fonds Français*, vol. 20, fol. 983, *passim*.

Louis XIII. An account of their journey would now be full of interest, but it has already been written by Père Pacifique, and was published at Paris in 1631.

As to Louis Deshayes, his diplomatic career was not brought to a close by his failure at Constantinople. In 1629 he was once more sent to Denmark, and thence to Moscow, where he made the first commercial treaty between Russia and France. On his return, being in Sweden, he again intrigued against the French Ambassador, M. de Charnacé, one of the best diplomatists and most faithful servants of the Cardinal. He easily disposed of the accusations of his ambitious traducer, who, this time, received in France all the blame he deserved. Louis threw himself, out of spite, into the party of the queen-mother and of Gaston d'Orléans, entered into their conspiracies, was twice sent to Germany to beg for help against the authority of Louis XIII. and his Prime Minister. On the second occasion he was surprised by the above-mentioned Charnacé, who arrested him in person on the road between Mayence and Frankfort, carried him back to France, and in Languedoc, where the court was then residing, he was judged, and executed at Beziers on the 12th of October, 1632, in the 32nd year of his age, thus bringing to a full stop the soaring fortune of the house of Deshayes-Courmesnin.

GIRARD DE RIALLE.

ABSTRACT OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE "INSTRUCTION" BY LOUIS XIII.

THE king professes to have made known by all his actions, since God has called him to administer his very Christian kingdom, that his main object was to strengthen and increase the Apostolic and Roman Catholic religion, in which he hopes to live and die; he has therefore helped Catholics in distress, and indeed entire Churches, not only in Europe, as, for instance, by the marriage of his sister the Queen of Great Britain, and other actions by which he has stipulated the assured and free exercise of the said religion at the Court of England. But going further, and imitating his predecessors, he has taken particular care of the desolate Church in the East, has several times prevented the ruin of the Holy Sepulchre, the expulsion of Catholics, and has sent to these countries monks of various orders to teach the Gospel, who have done much good; but as this good work ought to be continued, it is not enough for him to have assured the Catholic faith in the Turkish Empire, but hearing that it had had a good start in Persia, which had been destroyed by Spanish ambition, His Majesty wishes to procure to the subjects of Persia, who are redeemed by the same blood of Jesus, the free exercise of their religion, and in order to do this has decided to send a virtuous person on this pious undertaking. As, however, it would be difficult to succeed without proposing some advantage to the Sophy (the Shah of Persia), for himself and his State, and as long

as the English and Dutch trade freely in the East, and take ministers with them who, by their false doctrine, attract weak minds to their faiths, His Majesty, beyond the gain of souls, which is what he seeks, has not rejected this specious (commercial) pretext which might serve to such a useful result, especially since he is urged on by a number of Marseilles merchants. He has therefore, remembering the services rendered to him by the Sieur Deshayes Courmesnin in his voyages to Constantinople, Jerusalem, and various parts of Europe, selected him to go to Persia, and has given him this Memorandum of instruction as to what to do, and how to treat with the King of Persia, his court and governors.

The main object of M. Deshayes' mission being to establish the Roman Catholic religion in Persia by rendering France the mistress of the trade of that country, he must so conduct himself that, in wanting to profit in one direction, he may not lose as much or more in another. It is therefore necessary not to give jealousy to the Grand Signor (the Sultan of Turkey), who could easily prevent the monks sent to Persia, and the trade to be established there from passing through the ports of the Mediterranean. He will, therefore, proceed to Constantinople, and after communicating with the Sieur de Césy, the Ambassador, he will ask for an audience from the Sultan, and will give him and his ministers to understand that the object for which His Majesty sends him to Persia, is to break the initiated understanding between the kings of Persia and Spain, a matter in which His Highness has a great interest, since these kings often concert enterprises on what is subject to the Ottoman Empire. Let them know that the greatness of the House of Spain is injurious to France (that it is) the only (power) in Christendom which aims at an universal monarchy; that the principal means to weaken (it) is to deprive it of the commerce by which this House subsists; and as its greatest income is from the East and West Indies, and as in order to deprive it of the commerce of the latter there are (already) powerful companies in France and Holland, it has (now) been decided to think also of the East Indies, by establishing French merchants at "Hispahan," who will buy the local products and those brought thither from afar, and thus ruin, without any risk, the profit of the Portuguese, by making them come to the ports of Aleppo, Alexandria and Smyrna, which will benefit the customs of the Sultan, as His Majesty does not wish, because of the Capitulations regulating the duties to be paid by Frenchmen in Turkish territory, that any loss should accrue to His Highness. On the contrary, whatever Persians, Armenians, and Arabs have hitherto paid, shall also be paid by his subjects who get merchandise from Persia; His Majesty only requests that a Tariff be made on which every one may base his calculation.

The Sr. Deshayes will then hasten to the court of the Sophy, and present to him the letters of His Majesty, assuring him of his perfect friendship, and that, having heard that he had broken his alliance with him, His Majesty wished to enter into the same alliance with him, and by a strong tie advance their common interests to the benefit of their (respective) subjects, but that His Majesty, wishing to act in perfect faith, desires the Sophy's friendship without breaking his alliance with the latter, and, as a friend of both, to intervene on behalf of a good and firm peace in their differences, should any happen.

Should the King of Persia refuse any alliance, except to the detriment of the Turk, the said Deshayes will not conclude any treaty, but at once think of returning. Should he, however, find the King well disposed, he will first propose to him the (free) exercise in his kingdom of the Catholic religion, whereby to gain the friendship of all Christians, and especially of his own ever loyal Christian subjects. The account that His Majesty (Louis XIII.) has received of the virtues of the King (Shah Abbas), and the kind reception he has given to the Carmelite and Dominican monks, who, being Spaniards, misbehaved on the occasion of the capture of Ormuz, have encouraged His Majesty in his present advances. The Sophy will see that the French Franciscans will behave well; whereas the Spaniards only desire his strong places. His Majesty only desires the Sophy's affection and good faith on which to base the surety of commerce, but he knew that (the Shah) had once before sent (a mission) to him, and that he was much annoyed not to have seen it, so that by the good treatment it would have received, it might have convinced the Sophy of the esteem which His Majesty has for what comes from him (the Shah); in short, the Sr. Deshayes will omit nothing that might dispose the King to receive the Capucin fathers and to enter into a treaty.

Two conditions would bring about the same result—the one, to exclude from the trade of the Levant the English, the Dutch, and the Venetians, whose commerce is so injurious to His Majesty. The latter, not being able to exist in Europe without his help, dare to oppose his authority in the Levant, and join the English and Dutch ambassadors in shocking religion and concerting with them that the Patriarch be a Schismatic, and opposed to the Holy See, so that His Majesty is obliged to gradually remove these nations from the commerce of the East, without, however, doing them any violence. The surest means is either to establish merchants in Persia to command its trade, or to induce the king to send the merchandise of his subjects to Aleppo, to be delivered to the French by his agents and not to others. The Sr. Deshayes must do his best to get the King of Persia to agree to either of these courses. The first would be the best; but as the Sophy himself commands the ordinary trade, from which he derives much gain,

the second course may have to be most kept in view, to effect which Deshayes, after having consulted the Consuls of Marseilles, will, by the advice of the merchants who are going with him, fix a price on the silks and products which shall be sent to Aleppo, and so regulate it that it may never be increased ; and he shall also arrange the mode of payment and in what coin, and that the price be paid partly in products of France, so as to keep in it gold and silver.

Three things will result from this : one, that the Venetians, English, and Dutch shall be obliged to pass through French hands, and buy from them the silks and other products which they will not be able any longer to debit (retail) elsewhere ; the second, that the subjects of His Majesty will derive a great profit from this trade ; the third, that the pirates will have no longer to be feared, because the merchants coming to the ports by regulated convoys and at certain periods, for taking away the merchandise, the vessels will go simultaneously, and in such large number that the pirates will be obliged to give up the sea ; and commerce becoming free, this kingdom will be greatly benefited, for, in addition to the gain for private individuals, His Majesty could, in times of need, be served by their vessels, which they will construct strong and big ; for only going at regulated seasons after silk, there will be more profit for them to have few, but big and well-armed, vessels. This Sr. Deshayes will impress on the merchants, and further, His Majesty trusts that those among them who will accompany him will fix the most moderate possible price on the merchandise, so that, not only the merchants, but also all the subjects of His Majesty may derive all the more benefit. Made in Paris the 18th February, 1626. (Signed) LOUIS.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

THE following papers are a series of extracts from miscellaneous notes, contained in several volumes, written by the late Sir W. Elliot, of Wolfelee, and kept during his Indian career of forty years as a Madras civilian from 1820 to 1860. I publish them by permission of Lady Elliot and the trustees, as they contain much that may be of interest and utility to the general public, and especially to that portion of it interested in Asiatic subjects. The note-books are divided into two classes—Natural History in Southern India, on the one hand, and Archæology, Ethnology, and many kindred subjects, on the other. With the former I have no concern; but during my perusal of the latter series of volumes, I have come across many valuable papers and memoranda. Considered merely as daily jottings during the life of an Indian civilian, some of them written nearly seventy years ago, they have their interest; but it will be found that as a rule they are of more positive utility. Viewed also as the personal notes of an exceptionally able, thoughtful, and kindly administrator, they afford a valuable lesson to officers in similar positions.

For portions of the information relating to his career, I am indebted to several obituary notices in various periodicals, and for others to Sir Walter's own notes, while Lady Elliot has herself afforded me material assistance.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

I preface the collection of extracts by a short account of Sir Walter Elliot's life and work. In preparing this, I have attempted, not merely to give the bare details,

but to bring his career somewhat more vividly before the reader. His life and life's work were exceptionally noteworthy. They afford an example of what can be done by close work, keen observation, patient industry, and a spirit of untiring inquiry, which nothing seemed to daunt, and for which nothing appeared too small or too great. From the first outset of his career he made notes of everything he saw. If he shot a wild animal, he made accurate measurements of it. If he galloped across country, he afterwards jotted down memoranda relating to its geological conformation. If he halted in a jungle, he instinctively became a botanist for the nonce, or observed and made notes of the movements and habits of its bird and insect life. In the office he was in the habit of making constant personal memoranda bearing on the economical condition of the people committed to his charge; while in court, hearing and settling their disputes with rare sympathy and large-heartedness, he never failed to record the peculiar customs of tribes, habits of classes, linguistic peculiarities of tracts, and everything which struck him as noteworthy or interesting.

It is hoped that a full biography of Sir Walter Elliot will some day be published. The present is an attempt merely to summarize his career by way of introduction to the series of papers which follow.

He was a scion of the old Border family of Elliots of Lariston, in Liddesdale, Roxburghshire, from whom is also descended the present chief, Sir William Eliott, of Stobs. William Elliot, brother of Elliot of Lariston, married the daughter and heiress of Scott of Horsley Hill, and founded this branch of the family. In the 16th century, owing to Border feuds, the Elliots had to leave the country; but a descendant, William, in 1722, bought Wolfelee, an estate in Upper Teviotdale beautifully situated on the side of the lofty hills under which runs Catley Burn, one of the affluents of the Teviot. The house stands high above the burn, surrounded by woods and completely sheltered, while from the

hill above a splendid view is obtained of the Cheviots and the neighbouring country. His son, born a year later, married a daughter of Sir John Elphinstone of Craighouse, and Logie, but had no issue. One of William Elliot's grandsons was a major in the 1st Madras Light Cavalry, and died at Vellore in 1802. A grand-daughter married General Sir Thomas Dallas, and their eldest son entered the Indian Civil Service. Marrying into the family of Yorke, his son assumed the name of Dallas-Yorke, and the latter's daughter recently married the Duke of Portland. A descendant of the same William Elliot became the wife of Earl Cairns, the Lord Chancellor of England, and another married the 12th Lord Elphinstone, whose son, the 13th peer of the name, was afterwards Governor of Madras and Bombay. James Elliot, younger son of Cornelius, eldest son of the William Elliot who bought Wolfelee, married in 1799 the daughter of the last Laird of Polmood, whose wife was the Lady Caroline Mackenzie, daughter of the Earl of Cromartie who forfeited his title and estates in 1745. The eldest son of James Elliot died in infancy; the second son, Walter, the subject of this memoir, thus became head of his branch of the family, quartering with his own the arms of Polmood in right of his mother, and inheriting Wolfelee from his father, since his uncle, the elder son of Cornelius, had died without issue.

Born in 1803, Walter Elliot in early life lived at a country-house then called Stewartfield, now Hartrigge, Lord Stratheden's place near Jedburgh; so that, born in a Border family, he resided on what the Scotch call the right side of the Borders during the whole of his long life which was not spent in India, and imbibed Border ideas from his infancy. Throwing himself with energy into every branch of study, he was never happier than when deeply immersed in Border lore. The library at Wolfelee is stocked with books relating to the old county families of the south of Scotland; and all the traditions of the Elliots are Border

traditions. The very last effort of his life was to write a paper on one of the ancient Border minstrels, called "Rattling Roaring Willie," for the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, which was printed, with additional notes, after Sir Walter's death by Mr. Eliott Lockhart, his son-in-law.

His earliest education was imparted by a clergyman in Cumberland, the Rev. James Traill, who afterwards became a chaplain of the East India Company at Madras. After studying at home with a private tutor for three or four years, he was sent to a school near Doncaster, called Carr House, kept by the Rev. Dr. Inchbald. Here he remained till he was fifteen, when he received an appointment in the East India Company's service, and went to Haileybury, as was usual in those days. Here the boy's natural gifts stood him in good stead. The members of his father's family had long been noted in the Scottish metropolis for their high social and intellectual accomplishments, and Elliot never seemed to have any trouble in mastering the subjects of study with which he had to deal. He passed out of Haileybury in the shortest possible time with the honorary certificate of "highly distinguished." In the field, as in the schoolroom, he bore the same character, and was noted no less for his robust and handsome physique than for his zeal and activity in all sports. He was one of those men who seem destined to be foremost in everything; and the East India Company never made a better bargain than when they secured him for their service.

In March, 1820, being then seventeen years old, young Elliot embarked in the Indiaman *Kelly Castle* (Capt. Lindsay), and landed at Madras on the 14th of June following. The voyage generally took about three months in those days; and the landing was through the well-known surf, so graphically depicted by his friend Col. Campbell, in the fascinating memoir called "My Indian Journal." In Madras the young civilian was kept for two pleasant years at the college of Fort St. George, going through the

regular course of study then prescribed, including the vernacular languages, Indian law and history, and the like. The habits of industry so early practised and the inherited brilliancy of his intellectual powers again brought him to the front; and when he passed out it was (June, 1823) with an honorary reward of 1000 pagodas (Rs. 3,500) for remarkable proficiency in Tamil and Hindustani.

Mr. Elliot's first appointment appears to have been that of Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Salem; but the cut-and-dried life of an executive official in a settled province, even in those days, did not seem to satisfy the impulsive energy of his character, and he begged to be sent for duty to a "non-regulation" province. The dominions of the old Mahratta sovereignty had very shortly before fallen under British sway. It was in 1817 that the all-powerful Peshwa at Poonah had consented by treaty, after the Pindari war, to receive, and act under the instructions of, a British Resident. After a half-hearted obedience lasting only two months, during which the Peshwa had raised levies of horse and foot and had openly attacked and burned the British Residency, he had finally surrendered. His troops were completely defeated; Poonah was delivered up; and the sovereignty of the Mahrattas came to an end. Six years later the affairs of the Mahratta nation were being conducted by a Commissioner residing at Poonah, and the territory had been divided into provinces one of which was known as the Southern Mahratta Country. In charge of this tract was a Principal Collector, Mr. St. John Thackeray, who was also styled Political Agent to the Governor of Bombay, with head-quarters at Dhârwâr; and to this district Walter Elliot, owing no doubt to the influence of powerful friends as well as to his own undisputed abilities, was appointed as Assistant. The country was in a disturbed state in many respects, even though six years had passed since the transfer of sovereignty to the East India Company. The old chiefs and

their families, accustomed for generations, like the barons of Europe, to almost unbounded power within their own tracts, owning no lord save the Peshwa, and left practically to rule their estates as petty sovereigns, could ill brook the interference of foreigners and the restraints forced on them by the presence and watchfulness of British agents; and the inhabitants of these petty baronies, however far they went in outward show of respect to the representatives of the ruling *Sarkar*, or Government, were in their inmost hearts still loyal to their old rulers. The country was little known, and the habits and temper of the people still less so, and Elliot, on his arrival after his long journey by land from Madras, found a splendid field for his inquiring and observant nature. He threw himself with ardour into field sports no less than into the work of the Kacheri, and set himself to acquire all possible information.

In 1824, the year after he joined, occurred an event which very nearly put an early end to his career. The chief of Kittûr, who lived in a strong fort in the district, surrounded by turbulent followers and owning considerable estates, died without issue, and the usual intrigues were set on foot regarding the succession. Parties were formed, and an attempt was made to induce Mr. Thackeray to recommend to Government an adopted son, on the strength of a document fabricated after the chief's death and consequently invalid. The Political Agent, powerless to act alone, referred for orders to his Government, and did his best to quiet the discontent arising from the delay in receiving an answer from Bombay. Day by day the relatives of the deceased Rajah awaited the reply of the Government, and day by day the irritation increased. There was no recognised chief. The official placed in charge of the estate by Mr. Thackeray grossly misconducted himself; every form of injustice was rife; and the people of the fort knew not from hour to hour whether the new British Government

would not treat their old Râj as an escheat, and deprive the chief's family as well as all his numerous dependents and vassals of their means of subsistence. To add to their anxiety, the Kittûr feudatory happened to be the only chief of his caste in the Mahratta country. He was a Lingayat, or Jangam, and the feeling amongst the caste men was intense. The chief's death had taken place on September 11th or 12th; and about the 15th one of Mr. Thackeray's Brahman clerks assumed charge of the estate jointly with the late chief's Diwân. Elated with the insolence of office, and delighted at the opportunity of showing caste-superiority, the Brahman manager speedily disgusted the principal Sardârs by his vulgar disregard of their prejudices. Informed at Dharwar by an enemy of the Diwân's of the fabrication of the document of adoption after the late chief's death, Mr. Thackeray, taking with him Messrs. Elliot and Stevenson, his civilian assistants, proceeded to Kittûr, and received from the Diwân an admission of the fraud that had been attempted. The admission was doubtless coupled by specious arguments founded on native customs and superstitions, for it was stated that the signature had been obtained by placing a pen in the hand of the corpse. It is quite possible that this ceremony would have been sufficient in those days to satisfy the minds of the people of the country, so long as there was no opposition to the adoption of the individual selected. Mr. Thackeray, however, treated the whole affair as a deliberate fraud, removed the Diwân from office, and ordered him to confine himself to his house. He was superseded by an avowed enemy; and the official who had betrayed him to Mr. Thackeray was placed in a high position of trust. This affair naturally augmented the suspicion and alarm prevalent in the fort. The situation became still more strained when Mr. Thackeray,—finding, on inquiry, that there was a distinct failure of heirs, that the only possible course for Government to adopt would be, either

to resume the entire estate, or to confer it, for life only, on the chief's surviving wife, and that this latter course was calculated to lash into fury the strong-minded mother of a former wife, who headed by far the most powerful party in the fort,—decided that, in the interests of all parties, he must make a full inquiry into the resources of the estate. His conduct in taking account of the treasury and instituting minute investigations increased in the minds of those interested the belief that the râj was passing away from them. On September 29th Mr. Elliot and his companions became alarmed by reports of collections and assemblies of the people; but still Mr. Thackeray's inquiries proceeded, all the heads of villages being summoned. to render their accounts. During the days that followed, the Fort party continued to collect men and arms* and to prepare for open resistance in case of need; but the only positive warning communicated to the English officers appears to have been one given, on the occasion of a shooting expedition, to young Elliot, who had already endeared himself to the people. This warning he repeated to his chief; and Mr. Thackeray made an excuse to get a troop of Horse Artillery sent to Kittûr. These arrived on the 18th October, commanded by Capt. Black and Lieutenants Sewell and Dighton; and though Mr. Thackeray repeatedly assured the Government that he required no military assistance, and had not deliberately called for the troops as a military measure, there can be no doubt whatever that their presence augmented the excitement of the people. As day after day passed and no final orders were received from Government, the elder mother-in-law of the late Rajah determined to leave the place and carry off the treasure; and when she attempted actually to carry this into effect, Mr. Thackeray found it absolutely necessary to seize the gates of the fort. This was done by means of the

* The chief had before this been severely rebuked by Government for sheltering bands of highway robbers in his estates. (*Bom. Gaz. Art. Belgaum.*)

men of his escort, who had orders to allow no one to leave the fort without permission from the Political Agent; a measure which, necessary though it may have been, must have had a most exasperating effect. Mr. Elliot tells us that he had been very unwell during those few days, and it was not until the 22nd that he again entered the fort. He then found that he was treated with "the most unequivocal marks of bad feeling"; and the same evening the Sardârs flatly refused to obey Mr. Thackeray's summons requesting their attendance at the office inside the fort. On this, the Collector thought fit to send for a division of guns to overawe the people, and on their appearance the civilians left the fort. The position in the evening was as follows: The inner gate of the fort was in possession of the British troops, but there were two other gates outside this one, held by the Rajah's people, while all the English were at their respective camps. Elliot dined at the troop mess, Thackeray having gone to his own camp. All night armed men in the service of the Rajah were thronging into the fort, and every preparation was made for open resistance. In the morning admission into the fort was refused, and Capt. Black found that his men at the inner gate could not get out, in consequence of the two outer gates being held by the natives. Mr. Thackeray seems to have been ill, but on Capt. Black's request for orders, he sent a message that the mutineers were to be warned, and after twenty minutes, on their refusal to allow the division of guns at the inner gate to be relieved, the outer gate was to be blown in. Due notice was given, but entrance was obstinately refused, and the Rajah's men (henceforth called the enemy) were thronging the walls and high ground inside the fort. After twenty minutes the guns opened fire.* One was

* The writer of the article on Belgaum in the official *Gazetteer* speaks as if the sortie which followed, in which the officers lost their lives, took place before the guns actually opened fire; but Sir W. Elliot's note proves that this was not the case. (R. S.)

directed at the gate, and one, under Lieut. Sewell, was posted on some rising ground to keep down the fire from the walls. The matchlock men made good practice; some men were wounded, and Lieut. Sewell was shot through the breast, receiving a mortal wound, of which he died next day. Mr. Elliot hurried off to find Mr. Thackeray, and, learning that he had been carried down in a palanquin towards the gate, ran back with Stevenson to join him; but on reaching the open ground they found that a sortie had been made, and that the gunners had been outnumbered, and were in full retreat. Some native mounted orderlies advised the two young civilians to retire while there was yet time, saying that Mr. Thackeray had been killed; but they were unwilling to fly, and remained alone.

The enemy rapidly approached, and when it was seen that they were giving no quarter, the two Englishmen fled into a house for refuge. They were kindly treated; and after a time a dependent of the Rajah's, with whom they were acquainted, came to the house, surrounded them with a compact body of his own men to save them from the fury of the armed rabble outside, and conducted them into the fort, not without difficulty and danger as several attacks were made on the little party. Near the glacis they saw the dead body of Mr. Thackeray, and descending towards the outer gate that of Lieut. Dighton who had been killed early in the affair. Inside the gate was the corpse of Capt. Black. At the third gate, standing to their arms, was the small band of gunners, who had never been able to leave the place; but the walls were swarming with matchlock men. Resistance was hopeless; and on the advice of the civilians, all surrendered and were taken prisoners. The survivors were treated with much kindness and consideration. The soldiers were sent out to camp the next day, each with a small present, and the two young civilians remained alone in the hands of their captors. They lost all they possessed, as the camps had been sacked, and everything plundered and destroyed.

The Diwân had been murdered by the same man who had informed Mr. Thackeray of the deceit practised in regard to the documents of adoption. Elliot and Stevenson remained prisoners for six weeks.*

As the insurgents showed no intention of submitting, the Bombay Government had no alternative but to reduce the place by force. Troops were concentrated,† and by the 25th of November the place was invested. This must

* Mr. John Jardine, now Judge of the High Court of Bombay, and formerly employed in the Dhárwár district, writes to me, that while there in 1868 he met an old man, a connection of the Kittúr family, named Rám Rao. "He came to me with an autobiography in English, and so I learned from that and from his lips about the insurrection at Kittûr, the killing of Mr. Thackeray, the Principal Collector, the imprisonment of Sir W. Elliot and Stevenson, both Assistant Collectors. My informant was then a young accountant; and his rise in life began by his being able to show kindness to the two captive civilians, getting them bread and meat from Dhárwár, etc. He said they were kindly treated by the Désái of Kittur." The following extracts from a letter written by Mr. Stevenson on November 19th, from their prison, to the wife of General Hunter Blair, then military Secretary to Sir C. Colville, Commander in Chief in Bombay, will be read with interest. The letter was placed in my hands by Lady Elliot, the General's niece. "The escape of my Friend Elliot and myself on the unfortunate 23rd, was miraculous. A stronger arm than our own defended us. Of the many blows aimed at me, only one took effect, and that fortunately struck my head, which being tolerably thick (and the blow having been struck by one of the mob who was not very near my person) sustained no further injury than a headache. Our jailors treat us pretty well; the only thing we found particularly irksome was the constant attendance night and day of three guards who . . . were directed never to lose sight of us. I talk in the past tense because although the system still exists habit has made us callous to it. . . . We get through the day pretty well, our friends from Dharwar supplying us with food both for the mind and body, so that with reading, writing, . . . we manage indifferently well to get rid of time. We look forward with anxiety, however, to the arrival of Mr. Chaplin, which I fear will not be so soon as we expected; indeed we had hoped that he would have reached Kittoor to-day, but he is obliged to delay until all the troops are assembled. He will not therefore be here before the 25th, I think. My friend Elliot is much flattered by your kind mention of him. . . ."

† The 1st Bombay Regiment, two companies of His Majesty's 46th Foot, a battery of Horse Artillery, the 4th and 8th Madras Cavalry, the 23rd Madras Infantry, and the 3rd and 6th Bombay Infantry, the whole under the command of Col. Deacon, C.B.

have been an excessively anxious period personally for the captives; for the English commander sternly refused to listen to any proposals from the enemy based on conditions connected with their safety; and from day to day they must have had the fear of death before their eyes. Their captors, however, were no less aware on their side that their best chance for the future lay in gentleness towards their young prisoners; and moreover they belonged to a race not generally given to wanton bloodshed, however unsparing they might be in actual warfare; and so it came about that on the 2nd of December they were quietly marched out under a flag of truce, and handed over to Mr. Chaplin, the British Commissioner.

The insurgents still refusing to surrender, a hill in the neighbourhood of the fort was stormed and carried on the 3rd, and a battery constructed thereon. The defenders surrendered unconditionally on the 5th, and the rest of the prisoners were delivered up. Liberal terms were granted to all.

Thus ended this tragic affair.* It was an exciting commencement to Elliot's career, and one eminently calculated to strengthen his self-reliance and develop his already manly character. It must have had its effect in many ways, for it brought him for weeks together into direct contact with the natives of the country he was to administer. Their gentle treatment of their prisoners, Elliot's own sympathy with their anxieties and difficulties, the kindness and cordiality he experienced at the hands of several, no less than his consciousness of their intriguing character, their ferocity when roused, and their proneness to take merciless revenge on the persons of those who seriously injured them, all must have combined to influence his ideas for the future, and to enable him to understand the Hindus as few other administrators have done.

* The events that took place at Kittúr are immortalized in the Canarese country by being sung in a popular ballad. (Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, xiv. 293.)

THE MUHARRAM CELEBRATION.

The following brief, but sufficient, description of the Muharram celebration, by His Excellency, General Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan, the able and learned Ambassador to this country of His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia, will, we hope, set at rest for ever a question in which the religious feelings, not only of the Shiahs, but also of the Sunnis, are so vitally concerned :—

"The commemorative mourning observed from the first to the tenth day of the month of Muharram, which has always been a sacred month in the annals of Arabia, is celebrated in all Mahommedan countries, wherever there are members of the Imamia or Shiah sect. As a rule, and according to strict interpretation, the celebration consists solely and simply of the narration, from the mouth of a learned and pious Maulvi (Mollah), either in a mosque or in a quadrangular building specially constructed for the purpose in a private house or other retired place, of the *Marsia*, or Elegy of the various events which immediately preceded and followed the journey of the Prophet's younger grandson, Hussein, to Kerbelá, in the year 81 of the Hegira, upon the invitation of the people of Kufa. The Elegy also narrates the duplicity of that people, whose descendants are bitterly repentant, and the eventual destruction, by an overwhelming force, of the small party by which Hussein was accompanied, notwithstanding the numerous acts of heroism on the part of the men of whom that party was composed.

"That the narrative of those nine days of suffering, ending on the tenth day in the slaughter and plunder of the

little camp, already at death's door from hunger, thirst, and the effects of wounds, should deeply move the Imamias is only natural; but, beyond this, there is no representation, in the theatrical sense of the term as employed in Europe.

"The people in India may be in the habit of carrying about *Tabuts*, that is to say, models of the Hazûr Hussein's bier, *not* of his *tomb*, commemorating his being borne from the blood-stained field; and sometimes spears are carried, in memory of the occasion, in the procession that takes place on the tenth day, to the model-Kerbelá. I have seen, at Lucknow, the enclosure in which the tombs of Kerbelá, Kazimein, etc., are modelled. All this, whether to be deplored or not as excess of zeal, is very far indeed from being a representation of the Almighty or of His Prophet, which is strictly forbidden by our faith; and on this point there is no diversity of opinion between Sunnis and Shiahs. Whatever be the mysteries contained in the Elegy, they touch our most sacred feelings; and I sincerely hope, for the sake of the respect entertained by Mahommedans for this country and its revered Queen, that this unfortunate discussion will cease once for always; that no attempt will be made in any form to introduce the Prophet on any stage, or recommend such a deplorable course under whatever pretext—and, above all, that the blasphemy be not repeated, attributing to the Sunnis or Shiahs the guilt of personating the Almighty or His Prophet upon any stage, or in any manner."

THE PLAY "MAHOMET" IN ENGLAND.

Some time ago M. Bornier unsuccessfully endeavoured to produce a play, called "*Mahomet*," at Paris, in which the Arabian prophet's "favourite wife, Ayesha, takes sides with Christ; the prophet himself seems to admit at the highest moment of his life that he was not the last and greatest of the prophets, that Christ was greater, that Christianity was built to live for ever, and Islam doomed to fall. More painful still, Mahomet is made to commit suicide, merely to put himself out of the way, in order that his unfaithful wife, Ayesha, may be happy with her lover Safwan. All this seems false to history, untrue to character, Western in thought, and Parisian in sentiment."

The above account of an inexcusable outrage on the religious feelings of Muhammadans is given by Mr. Hall Caine in the *Speaker* of the 4th October last, quoted in the *Globe* of the same date. Mr. Caine, who calls M. Bornier's parody of Muhammad "still a beautiful poem," and "not without a noble ideal; in fact, a duel between Christianity and Muhammadanism," appears to be an imitator or adapter of M. Bornier, but is obviously possessed of better taste. However, his play *Mahomet* is also said to have been recently suppressed by the Lord Chamberlain; but the *Academy* of the 6th December last informs us that Mr. W. Heinemann is about to publish it, and that the public will then "have an opportunity of judging the propriety" of its "being presented on the stage."

This is not a question for the British, but for the Muhammadan, public. The representation of anything living, whether by sculpture, painting, or acting, is distinctly prohibited by the Muhammadan religion. Leading representatives of the two sects into which that faith is divided

the Sunnis and the Shiahs—have pronounced against any attempt to represent their prophet on the stage.

Undeterred by this, "Geo. B.," who disclosed his identity with Sir George Birdwood in the *Times* of the 9th October, as the author of an introduction to a work published by Messrs. W. H. Allen, maintained that the Muhammadans were wrong in objecting to the production of M. Bornier's play, either on the French or the English stage, and recommended "a six months' run" of it at the Lyceum. Mr. N. A. Wollaston also, moved "by deep interest in the discussion" of Bornier's *Mahomet*, came to the rescue of him who was his colleague in the work published by Messrs. Allen, and awarded "the Ball of Victory" to "Geo. B." in the *Times* of the 21st October, 1890.

There were no light reasons that compelled the Sultan of Turkey, as the representative of the Sunni Muhammadan world, to use his influence at Paris for the suppression of M. Bornier's play; nor was it without the most careful consideration that the Lord Chamberlain suppressed the same, or a similar, play in England. The agitation among Muhammadans subsided in consequence, and it was only given to "Geo. B." to revive it.

In the *Bombay Gazette Overland Summary* of the 15th November last appears the text of a petition from a representative monster meeting of the Bombay Muhammadans of all sects to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council, protesting against the renewal of the attempt to represent their Prophet on the stage. That "Geo. B." is responsible for the alarm that has been created a second time may be inferred from the reference at the meeting in question to "an amusing attempt . . . to justify the representation of our Prophet on the stage, on the ground that it would conduce to the proper appreciation of his character and work."

What, may be asked, was the reason which induced two *employés* of the India Office so to irritate Muhammadan feeling? As officials, they were bound to avoid anything

that could give offence to any portion of Her Majesty's subjects. The answer appears to be found in the natural desire of authors to defend an untenable position as long as possible. The Secretary of the London Persian Legation has, on behalf of the Shiahs of Persia, disposed of Mr. Wollaston's statements regarding them; whilst "Geo. B." may find that his letters to *The Times* have for ever disqualified him from giving an unbiassed opinion to his official superiors on any subject connected with Muhammadans, among whom the effect of his misstatements and even more so of his irritating suggestion, will, I fear, be lasting, because supposed to emanate from official inspiration. Incidentally, a curious state of things is disclosed. There appears to be a number of supposed authorities on Muhammadan subjects in this country, who copy from one another, or, if they make a mistake, quote and praise one another, but none of whom knows Arabic, without which it is impossible to be an "authority" on any matter connected with Muhammadan literature or religion. An obscure native of Arabia, Persia, or India is sometimes employed by one or the other of them, generally on very small pay; and it depends on the native's ability or conscientiousness, or even vanity, whether he misleads or instructs them. A disrespectful translation into Hindustani of the National Anthem was thus made by a Persian, and advocated by them, a few years ago. The half-knowledge, second-hand knowledge, or pseudo-knowledge of certain European writers can, however, not be better illustrated than by the literature available in this country regarding the Elegy of the death of Husain, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, on the plain of Kerbelá, in 680 A.D., or 81 A.H. This Elegy is recited during the commemoration of the event which takes place every year, from the 1st to the 10th of the month of Muharram. The Shiahs, who maintain the hereditary principle of the succession of the spiritual leadership to the descendants of the Prophet, naturally feel the murder of their prophet's grandson as an act of inexcusable injustice;

whilst the Sunnis, who represent a *de facto* leadership by election and the *consensus fidelium*, according to the *Sunna* or tradition, although regretting the death, are not prepared to join in excessive demonstrations of grief, which are really reproaches to Sunnis. Neither sect, however, would for a moment permit, what Sir George Birdwood professes to have seen, namely, "every Anglo-Indian knows, in the play of *Hasan and Husain* as performed in India and Persia, the Prophet Muhammad is produced on the stage at every turn of the development of the plot. The translation of a Persian version of the play by Sir Lewis Pelly, with an introduction by me, describing its performance in Bombay, was published by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co. in 1879; and any one who may refer to the book will there find, not only the Prophet Muhamad and the angel Gabriel and other angels, and the 'nymphs of Paradise,' but positively the Almighty, are included among the *dramatis personæ*, and moreover are treated on the stage with familiarity." . . This is not the case either among the Shiahs of Persia or those of India; whilst "Geo. B.'s" "great doubt of the wisdom of the general outcry . . . against . . . the performance of M. Bornier's play," his thinking it "most unfortunate that" the Muhammadans "should, either in Paris or here, have raised any obstacles to its performance," his recommendation of "a six months' run of *Mahomet* on the boards of the Lyceum," show him to be a man whose knowledge, opinion, and taste cannot always be relied on by his superiors.

Even after the mauling given him, in deferential terms, by Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad in the *Times* of the 13th October, "Geo. B." returns to the charge. He abandons his former attitude towards Bornier's play, not because it is improper, but because the Muhammadans are foolish enough not to like it. He reiterates that he has "seen the *earlier* portions of the *play*" (of Hasan and Husain) "enacted there" (in India). This is quite impossible, whatever he might have seen on the *last* day. Besides, he

could not have seen a *play*, when there is not a *play* of the kind. His impression, however, still is that he has "seen the Prophet Muhammad *personated* in a Western Indian *version* of the *play*;" and "Geo. B." finally alleges that the translation of Sir Lewis Pelly's play of *Hasan and Husain* is from an *acted* Persian version of it. "The scenes were all written out for him by 'a prompter of actors' of the play, while its translation into English was superintended by a native Persian gentleman of the profoundest learning and scholarship and of remarkable religious enthusiasm." I think I know the person alluded to, who, after becoming a Christian, a Jew, and a Muhammadan reformer, is now starting a religion of his own. His sarcastic derivation of "Saxon," from "Sag"-son – son of a dog, before a British audience, that believed in the equally erroneous derivation of "Saxon" from "Isaacson,' is typical of the man and of his instruction. No member of the despised actor, or rather buffoon, class in Persia would be allowed to take part in the recitation of the sacred "Elegy." It is a learned Maulvi who recites it, not "a prompter of actors." Sir George Birdwood then refers to Morier, Chodzko, and others in support of his view—and so does "Geo. B.'s" *collaborateur*, Mr. N. A. Wollaston; but neither seem to be much benefited by the names which they invoke.

The former refers to Mr. Bosworth Smith in a well-deserved *captatio benevolentiæ*, "as a large-minded writer of the school" which "he so ably represents in this country." Mr. Bosworth Smith is, no doubt, an able and fairly careful writer, though not an authority at first-hand; but what does *he* say (pp. 290, 291 of *Mohammad and Mohammadanism*)?—

"The *festival* of the Moharram, commemorating the martyrdom of Hasan and Hosein, sons of Ali, and observed in Persia with such passionate indications of grief, is celebrated with hardly less solemnity in India also, and resembles in many particulars the Mysteries and the Miracle Plays of the Middle Ages."

And again, in a note: "It is worth remarking, that in India the schism between Sunnis and Shiahs is not nearly so marked as in other parts of the Mohammadan world. They both join, for instance, in the Muharram." Yes; but the former rather as spectators, and the latter as actors, though not in the sense of *theatrical* actors. Mr. Smith's alleged analogy to the miracle plays is natural in one who has not *seen* the mourning ceremonies, *not* "festival," much less "play," of the Muharram; but Mr. B. Smith, in the above passage, simply destroys Mr. N. A. Wollaston, who, to help his friend, changes the venue from India to Persia, and from Sunnis to Shiahs, as if there were not thousands of Shiahs in India, and as if the Sunnis in India celebrated "the play" at all. This is how Mr. Wollaston finds a difference between "the sentiments of the Shiah peoples of Iran, placed as they are in a category quite apart from their co-religionists of Sunni Hindostan, who bow the knee of loyalty to the Queen-Empress of India."

On this, the Secretary of the Persian Legation drove Mr. Wollaston out of his last entrenchments by stating in the *Times* of the 27th October,—

"1. The play of *Hassan and Hussein* is not a recognised Persian drama.

"2. No true Mohammadan would, under any circumstances, tolerate the personating of the Deity or of the Prophet Mohammad upon any stage.

"3. There is never any such theatrical performance in Persia in which either the Deity or the Prophet Mohammad is represented."

On this Mr. Wollaston sought refuge in what we will show are mere quibbles as to the terms "drama," "scenic stage," etc., and invoked *more suo* and that of "Geo. B.," *names*, whom I will not call "voces et præterea nihil," but whose veracity is not in point. We do not accuse Chodzko, Gobineau, Benjamin, and Geary to have conspired with Pelly, Birdwood, and Wollaston to palm

off a scratch collection as a real play; but we say that Birdwood and Wollaston are not authorities on the question as to whether there is a *bona-fide Persian* "play," in the theatrical sense of the term, in which God and His Prophet are *personated*. This is simply untrue, whoever says it, whether deliberately or under a misapprehension.

Mr. N. A. Wollaston, asserts, "on the authority of the native gentleman who was largely instrumental in producing the translation of the play, that it embodies faithfully the text of such a representation of *Hasan and Husain* as a traveller may see any year at Teheran or other large cities of Persia during the celebration of the Muharram."

The name of the native informant should be given. As for other "authorities," neither Morier nor any one else could have seen what does not exist; or, if they did, they aptly illustrate the Arabic proverb, that "the mere (sight-seeing) traveller, even where he sees, is blind."

The acme of incorrect assertion, however, is reached in the following question of A. N. Wollaston, who enters into a most irrelevant and inaccurate discussion of Sunnis *versus* Shiahs. "Are the eight millions of souls who inhabit Persia, and are accustomed year after year, *not only to witness a representation of the Almighty on the stage, but to listen to the pious declamations of the Prophet Mahomet in a theatrical garb*, to be considered as outside the pale of the Moslem world?" [The italics are mine.]

This is, indeed, an insult that Shiahs will resent; but the statement that follows will equally array the Sunnis against the blasphemy, bad taste, and improper use of terms contained in: "The dislike of the Sunnis to the Shias is the true cause of their hatred of a passion play which, did not religious animosities assert their sway, might not impossibly idealize *ad nauseam* the Deity and the Prophet whom all Moslems worship." What can "idealize *ad nauseam*" mean?

However, much may be forgiven to a man who believes that "when the *Moslems of Persia* heard of Sir Lewis

Pelly's publication of the miracle play, *they were much enraged,* not because they dreaded the free introduction of the Deity and His Prophet upon the stage, but solely and simply lest ridicule should perchance be cast upon the God whom they worship and His Messenger whom they revere."

Why should they have done so, if such a play had really existed, and was annually performed? And why, after such experience, do Messrs. Birdwood and Wollaston, practically, persist in insulting Muhammadan feeling?

The facts as regards plays in Persia are as follows: They are modern innovations, introduced by adventurers, at present only in print. Neither the Arabic nor the Persian language contains any words applicable to theatrical scenery, properties, and *technique* generally. No such words could be understood without explanation. The first play in Persia was translated from Turkish by Mirza Jáfar in the year 1874, as something to read, not to act. In it an "act" is called "a sitting." "A comedy" can only be rendered as a "tamásha" or "a show." This and other comedies are NOT *acted*, and are not likely to be acted, except in places where Christians may succeed in starting public and other houses of entertainment improper to Muhammadans, as at Constantinople. The so-called Persian "actors" belong to the lowest class, and are buffoons, and not actors in the theatrical sense of the word. They are also rope-dancers, acrobats, jugglers, and such like. "The prompter and teacher of actors" and his "dramatic brethren," invoked by Sir Lewis Pelly, do not exist, except in a very strained sense of these terms. In 1882 Mirza Bákir helped W. H. D. Haggard and G. Le Strange in the translation of the equally unacted play of "The Vazir of Lankurán;" but this is subsequent to Sir Lewis Pelly's "Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain," which was alleged to have been "collected from oral tradition" by him, and to have been "revised with explanatory notes by Arthur N. Wollaston" (Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., 1879).

Misled by false analogy, which is due to the striving

after effect that is so characteristic of modern writers, and of which the first few sentences of the "Preface" are a sufficient instance, the "Elegy" of Husain's martyrdom is called "a drama," "composed" for "*audiences* before whom it is *represented*." "No *play* has ever surpassed the *tragedy* known in the Mussulman world as that of Hasan and Husain," called by Matthew Arnold this "Persian Passion Play;" while Macaulay's Essay on Lord Clive is supposed to have "encircled 'the Mystery' with a halo of immortality," as if the history of "Hasan and Husain," and the continuance of the Muharram celebration, depended on Muhammadans reading Macaulay's Essay on Clive.

The whole thing is an instance of the exploitation of the East by the West. The countries, the wealth, the products, the arts, the industries, the literature, the religion, yea, the very life and the reputation of the East have ever been a prey to the hungry Western adventurer. The height, however, of inaccuracy is reached when Sir Lewis Pelly informs us that "in common with *all* my countrymen who have long resided in India, I was annually impressed by the scenes that took place *in the native theatres*, while the recital of the woes of Hasan and Husain went on from night to night during the month of Muharram." Sir Lewis Pelly here refers to the recitations from Ferdousi, which are quite *àpropos des bottes;* and he finally admits that he did not collect the traditions of the supposed "play" at all, but that he employed that lowest of quasi-Muhammadans—an actor or teacher of actors— to collect, assisted by his "dramatic" friends, "the scenes of the Hasan and Husain tragedy." What can be expected from a source so unholy and so despised by Muhammadans? This precious collection was "written out and corrected *in English* by two assistants" of Sir Lewis Pelly, was revised and annotated by Mr. Wollaston, "*in the absence of the Persian text*," *which is nowhere produced*, for the obvious reason that it either does not really exist, or that the whole thing was a patchwork, done by men, none of whom, whether

Europeans or natives, appears to know Arabic. Dr. (now Sir) G. Birdwood,—who also does not know Arabic,—then gives to Pelly's play "a sketch of the Shiah schism, and of the manner of the performance of the play of Hasan and Husain in the East," of which we can only say that it seems to be compiled with encyclopedic talent from various second-hand sources of differing degrees of correctness. In this account the historical event of Kerbelá is spoken of as "The *Legend* of the Plain of Kerbelá." Facts are, however, only confounded with fiction when "the Birdwood eye, in a fine frenzy rolling . . . gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name," is speaking of "the enclosure" in which the death of Husain is celebrated, of "the properties" "to be used by the celebrants in the Passion Play,' before the *Tabut* (or model of the tombs at Kerbelá), and of the pulpit as "such is the theatre" "in which the deaths of the first martyrs of Islám are yearly commemorated."

If Sir George would read the account that is ascribed to him, and that is signed "Lewis Pelly," he will discover from his own pages how greatly he misrepresented the so-called "*play*" of "Hasan and Husain," and how little he knew of the subject or of the Muhammadan literature and religion when he wrote his mischievous letters to *The Times.**

* We are able to state, on the authority of Sir Lewis Pelly himself, that he never intended to convey the impression that his "miracle play of Hasan and Husain" was a theatrical performance; and that he would strongly resent any attempt to perform such a play on the theatrical stage, as an insult to Muhommadans, among whom he has some of his warmest friends and for whose religion he has the greatest respect. He is not aware, and does not believe, that his collection of the "recitals" regarding Hasan and Husain were resented by "the Moslems of Persia" (a rather wide and vague reference), as stated by Mr. Wollaston on, apparently, his native anonymous authority. We believe the origin of the "miracle play of Hasan and Husain," by Sir Lewis Pelly, to be simply this. He paid for the collection of these sacred recitals by some Persian or Persians, asked his assistants, Messrs. Edwards and Lucas, to translate them into English, lost or mislaid the Persian manuscript or manuscripts, and, animated by a sincere reverence for the beauty and the mystic sense of these elegies,—a feeling which, we believe, the late Dean Stanley shared,—he determined to

It will not be easy to remedy the evil effect that they have created, unless once for always the representation of religious plays is prohibited in England. It would also be desirable if Sir George Birdwood were to be requested either to substantiate his statements or to withdraw them, with a confession of ignorance and an apology to the Muhammadans whom he has so wantonly offended, both by his allegations of facts and by his suggestion.

NAWWÁB 'ABDURRASHÍD KHÁN.

publish them. He then got Mr. Wollaston to revise the English translation, and obtained an "Introduction" from the versatile pen of Dr. (now Sir) George Birdwood. Sir Lewis Pelly must have gone to considerable expense in printing two large volumes, in order to attract British readers to the perusal of recitals in which the doctrine of salvation is contained for the initiated. The British public, however, require Oriental learning to be made easy; and in order to render the recitals intelligible and popular, the analogies with the Passion Play of, e.g., Oberammergau, and allusions to miracle plays generally, furnished terms which are "so near, and yet so far," from the truth. It is thus that an illustrated paper supplied palms to a drawing of Lieutenant Rowcroft of the mountain campaign in Agrór, "because the English public required palm-trees in an Indian scene." It is thus that a great Orientalist of this country, who cannot speak a single Oriental language, has popularized philology which he found untaught and which he will leave mistaught, unless he raises his audiences to such knowledge as he may progressively acquire, and does not descend to their prejudices and preconceptions for the sake of personal ambition and an evanescent popularity.—EDITOR

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Play "Mahomet" in England.

As the letter of "Geo. B." will undoubtedly be considered, as I have been informed by Indian Muhammadans, to be an officially inspired, if indirect, attack on what is most sacred in their religion, it would be well to point out to them that the suppression of that play in England,—a far more difficult task than in France,—is only another instance of the scrupulous regard which Her Majesty has for the religious feelings of her Muhammadan, as of all her, subjects, and of the wise advice tendered on this occasion by the Secretary of State for India. At the same time, it is interesting to note how "Geo. B." arrived at his erroneous and most mischievous conclusions. It is evident from his letter, to which Mr. Rafiuddin has so ably replied in *The Times*, that he does not know the original sources of Muhammadan linguistics, history, or literature. The process, however, in which an "Elegy" or "Marsia," more correctly "Marthia," on the death of the Prophet Muhammad's grandson, Husain, is converted into "a play," is too curious not to deserve notice, and will be a warning to Orientalists at second-hand. "Marsia" is an "Elegy," in which "a dirge" may, of course, occur. "Dirges" are not uncommon in "tragedy," and, in a conventional sense, a "tragedy" is "a play"; therefore "an Elegy" is "a play"; therefore the "Marsia," or "Elegy of Husain's martyrdom" is "the play of Hasan and Husain"! "Geo. B." was, however, not even so logical; he contented himself with writing an introduction to "the Miracle play of Hasan and Husain" of Sir Lewis Pelly, who asked a member of the despised actor class to dramatize

the elegy; and forthwith "Geo. B." jumps to the conclusion that "every Anglo-Indian knows, in the play of Hasan and Husain as performed in India and Persia, that the Prophet Mahomed is produced *on* the stage at every development of the *plot*." Considering that the Prophet died long before the martyrdom of his grandson, I do not see how he could be referred to at "every stage of the elegy," which "Geo. B." converts into "*on* the stage" and "the *plot*," abominations to pious Muhammadans of both the Sunni and the Shiah persuasion (to the former of which by far the great majority of our Muhammadan fellow-subjects belong). Indeed, there is no such thing as "a play" in Muhammadan literature, in the proper sense of that word. The representation of everything that has, or has had, life is strictly prohibited by the Muhammadan religion, whether by picture, sculpture, or the drama, among the Sunnis, and, although the artistic Shiah Persians are, in some respects, a deviation from that rule, it will be news to them that the nine days' weeping in their homes, and the tenth day's procession of what may be termed the commemorative funeral of their martyr Husain, is called "a play." Indeed, it is a play in which the grief-stricken spectators are alike the audience and the actors, and in which the eloquent and solemn reciter of the sad historical event is the only actor, if such misuse of these terms may be permitted. The Sunnis tolerate the procession, because the Shiah mourners are evidently in earnest; but woe to them if, beyond lacerating their breasts, they look askance at Sunnis. Then there is bloodshed, unless checked by the presence of British officials. I have myself led out the procession, in either 1865 or 1866, with my friend, Nawab Nawazish Ali Khan, at Lahore, one of the very few places in India in which the white horse, that fled to announce its master's death to his people, is taken out. As for "the Almighty" being "represented" in the "elegy" or play, it is a most audacious misstatement. Of one thing I am convinced, and that is, that unless "Geo. B." apologizes and

retracts, on the ground of ignorance, every word that he has written regarding the Prophet Muhammad and the so-called "play," his letter will be considered to be a "*Hajo malíh*," or "sweetened lampoon," with a deadly sting on the Muhammadan religion throughout the length and breadth of India. To coolly recommend "a six months' run" of the play "Mahomet"—or, for that matter, of "the man Jesus"—at the Lyceum, is an insult to Mussulmans. *This* is what "all Anglo-Indians" will tell him, who know anything of the real feelings of Muhammadans and of the exasperation into which they are driven by the advocacy of the blasphemy of representing holy things by unholy men or women for the sake of money or amusement. Nor should any British official, in the vague belief of being friendly to Muhammadans and to Islám, recommend measures which may cause the greatest disaffection.

G. W. LEITNER.

WOKING, 13*th October*, 1890.

The Play "Mohamet" in English Theatres.

I have noticed in the columns of *The Times* of the 9th Oct., 1890, a suggestion made by a correspondent about the play of "Mohamet" in the English theatres.

Moulvie Rafiuddin Ahmad, having protested against the representation of the Great Founder of Islam on the theatrical stage, has been asked by a correspondent of *The Times* "whether he and his co-religionists drew any distinction between the personation of the Prophet Mahomet on the secular stage in Paris and London, and his introduction . . . in the religious play of *Hasan and Husain*, as performed yearly throughout India and Persia during the celebration of the Muhurrum." Before receiving any reply from him, a correspondent of *The Times* publishes his own mind on the matter, and considers it to be the greatest misfortune on the part of the Mussalmans if they obstruct the theatrical celebration of the Life of Mohammad.

He further asserts that historical knowledge cannot be popularized except "through the agency of the stage." To the question—How Christians would like a representation of the Lord Christ—he replies, that they "attribute a supernatural divinity to Him whose name they bear, which his followers have never claimed for the Prophet Mahomet." "For my own part," he continues, "I would approve of the popular teaching of the incidents of the Gospels through the instrumentality of the stage." His letter ends in the following words: —"The stage is, indeed, the only source of culture and the most potent centre of national unity."

Now, this is the first time that I ever heard of a "play of *Hasan and Husain*"! In the *East* Indies, as far as I know, being a Muhammadan native of India, nothing of this sort is performed during the days of the Mohurrum. Mohurrum, as I believe the correspondent of *The Times* knows, is the Arabic name of a month, on the 10th day of which *Imám Husain*—the grandson of the *Hazrat*, our Prophet Muhammad—was slain. The Musalmáns have therefore to perform some religious ceremonies on that day. A custom grew up among the illiterate class of people, especially among those of the *Shîâ Sect*, of preparing a *Táziáh*, something representing the building and the tomb of *Karbalá*, the place where the Imám was slain. This practice gathered strength and sanctity every year, until at last it made its way throughout the length and breadth of India. But no *person* is produced on the stage, nor is there any stage at all! Even Táziáhs are reprobated by the Maulwis and Maulánas, by the literate class of people, and by the religious personages of India.

To commemorate the sad event of the general massacre of Karbalá, they also read out what they call "Marsiá"—elegiacal description in verse of the massacre of Husain. In the Marsiá, they also quote some Ayets and Hadis (words of God and Muhammad), and they superadd also

the messages brought down, as they believe, by the angel Gabriel. I think it is this "Marsia" which has been mistaken by Western writers as the "play" of Husan and Husain. Our Christian correspondent, born as he is in the land of theatres, perhaps considers very naturally that God, His Apostle, and His angels, are themselves personified in the above "Marsia."

There are a good many Christians, as the correspondent of *The Times* himself says, "in the heart of London, the heart of the heart of Protestant Christianity," who do not know the true doctrines of their religion, and who would have avoided disgracing it, had they not been Christians at all. But this provides no ground for Mohammadans to diminish the respect they have for the Lord Christ, or to like Him to be represented on the stage.

The opinion, that "a six months' run of 'Mahomet' on the board of the Lyceum" would be considerably beneficial, is also not less ridiculous. What benefit would it produce for a nation which can hardly take care, as appears from the correspondent's statement, of its own religion? As for the Mohammadans, they have sufficient confidence in the pages of their own religious books, and they do not require the instrumentality of the stage at all for their enlightenment. The only thing conceivable which it would give birth to, would be the general dissatisfaction on the part of the Mohammadans, excepting indeed the pecuniary interest which the players might derive from it.

His reply to the question: "how Christians would like a representation of the Lord Christ," is not an answer at all in the strictest sense of the term. The Mohammadans certainly love their "HAZRAT" better than most of the Christians ever loved the Lord. Even the respect which a Mohammadan has for the Lord Christ is far greater than that of most of the Christians themselves.

His approval "of the popular teaching of the incidents of the Gospels through the instrumentality of the stage" is left for his co-religionists to consider. *

Does he mean to say that a play-goer might learn more than a church-frequenter, if the incidents of the Gospels, as he proposes, would be illustrated on the stage?

I think it is quite an unworthy idea, that the priestly college and the priests should be replaced by the play-house and the players.

I cannot also justify his assertions, that "the stage is . . . the only source of culture," and that historical knowledge (here concerned with *religion*) may be exclusively popularized "through the agency of the stage."

Was a stage, may I respectfully ask, used during the days of the Great Founders of Judaism, Christianity, and Islám? How did the religious doctrines then make their way in different parts of the world? Was it a stage which, crossing the barriers of the Himalayás, carried Buddhism to China? Christianity itself was introduced into England by St. Paul, who preached the religious doctrines *himself* before the then heathen Britons. St. Augustine brought the Roman Christianity in 597, and became the first Archbishop of Canterbury. "From Canterbury," says S. R. Gardiner, "Christianity soon spread over the southern part of England." But it never made its progress, nor were the incidents of the Gospel ever popularized, "through the agency of the stage."

The only thing which remains to be asked is, whether the correspondent of *The Times* thinks that the Christian missionary in India will greatly prosper by the approval "of the popular teaching of the incidents of the Gospel through the instrumentality of the stage"? My last sentence, however, will be this:—

"*The respect which the Mohammadans have for the Lord Christ rightly demands the same respect on the part of the Christians for the Prophet Mohammad.*"

SHAH NAIMUDDIN AHMAD.

14th November, 1890.

The Oriental Congress.

SIR,—

In sending you for publication the enclosed Report of Progress of the Constitutional Committee of Organization for the Statutory International Congress of Orientalists to be held in September, 1891, I beg to forward for the further elucidation of your article on "Scholars on the Rampage," published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1890, the following correspondence which has taken place between me and Professor Max Müller, one of the leading actors in the memorable scenes at the last Swedish Congress which that article so humorously describes:—

Whitehall Gardens, London.

To Professor MAX MÜLLER. *11th Oct.*, 1890.

SIR,—

I beg to enclose for your information, a Memorandum of a Meeting held in the British Museum yesterday under the presidency of Sir George Birdwood, and to ask whether you have assented to become President of the International Congress of Orientalists on the nomination of a small faction, who evidently wish to renounce the Constitution of Paris of 1873. You will keep in view, that no section of the Committee has a right to nominate a President or Vice-Presidents, or members of Committee, without submitting the same for the approval of all the signatories in England and abroad. May I ask the favour of an early reply.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) G. R. BADENOCH, LL.D.,
Assistant Organizing Secretary for
the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.

Igtham Mote, Ivy Hatch, near Sevenoaks,

To Dr. G. R BADENOCH. *Oct. 20th*, 1890.

SIR,—

I am sorry for the delay which has occurred in acknowledging your letter of October 11th. I have been staying with several friends, so that your letter reached me yesterday only. I am not acquainted with anything that has happened since our last meeting at Christiania, and I must refer you for further information to Professor Douglas, of the British Museum.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) F. MAX MÜLLER.

Whitehall Gardens, London, S.W.

To Professor MAX MÜLLER, Oxford. *23rd Oct.*, 1890.

SIR,—

Having been from home, I did not receive your letter of the 20th till this morning. You say, "I am not acquainted with anything that has happened since our last meeting at Christiania," which I presume means the last Congress Meeting at Christiania,—and you refer me to Professor Douglas for further information. I beg respectfully to remind you of your letter in the *Athenæum* of 24th May last, which evidently shows that you were acquainted with what was going on since the meeting at Christiania, and of your letter in the *Academy* of 7th June, referring to "the next meeting of the Oriental Congress and the legal aspects of the *reversio suffragii ad populum*, who alone, and not the ten persons assembled at the British Museum, can elect you as President. Moreover, the circular dated "Oxford, March, 1890," and the subsequent circular, dated "18th March," which was addressed to Count Landberg, are both headed by your name, and clearly show the active part you have taken since the last Congress in aid of the illegal and irregular resolutions of the Christiania meeting. I am therefore obliged to ask you again to reply to my plain question, whether you have accepted the presidency of the International Congress of Orientalists to be held in London, on the irregular nomination of a faction, assembled in a room of the British Museum on the 9th instant, and subsequently announced in *The Times*. This, as a public matter, affects in particular all those 350 members, representing twenty-five countries, who voted for a London Congress as a protest against the Christiania proceedings with which your name is identified. I cannot therefore accept an answer to my simple question but from yourself; and I must decline to comply with your suggestion, to apply for further information on this point to Prof. Douglas, who apparently, from your letter, has been constituted the keeper of your conscience. I await an early reply. I reserve my right to publish this correspondence.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) G. R. BADENOCH, LL.D.,
Assistant Organizing Secretary for
the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.

To Dr. G. R. BADENOCH. 7, Norham Gardens, Oxford,

DEAR SIR,— *Oct. 26th*, 1890.

I found your letter waiting for me at Oxford. I have really nothing to add to my last note. If I said in it that I was not acquainted with anything that had happened since our last meeting at Christiania, I referred, of course, to the proceedings of your own Committee, of which I had no official information. As Professor Douglas was a prominent member of that Committee, I referred you to him for any official information.

I remain, your obedient servant,

(Signed) F. MAX MÜLLER.

P.S. I have no objection to your publishing my notes; but I think this correspondence might now end.

It will be observed, that Professor Max Müller has not only qualified for a literary presidency, but also for a high diplomatic post, by evading to answer the simple question which I put to him. Facts, however, are not so evasive, and they clearly show that Professor Max Müller must have known all along, if indeed he did not laboriously prepare, "the honour" which has been conferred on him without the previous knowledge or consent of the great majority of the Committee, in spite of the written subsequent protests of Mr. Hyde Clarke, Dr. W. H. Bellew, Canon Isaac Taylor, Dr. Beddoe, and myself, and in defiance of the 350 signatories in twenty-five countries who had protested in a "Declaration" against the encroachments on our constitution with which he and the illegal Christiania Committee, composed of his allies, are identified: namely, Messrs. Dillmann, Kuenen, Bühler, and Landberg, who naturally very much approve of his election or self-election, and of the office-holders, Messrs. Birdwood, Douglas, Hewitt, and Bullinger, whom the appointing authorities have cut off from the Constitutional Committee or Congress, for proceedings opposed to the Declaration which they had signed, and who, therefore, can have no part or lot in the organization founded at our labour and expense.

In consequence of the unconstitutional action of Prof. Max Müller and the nine gentlemen to whom I have referred, an appeal was made to the French National Committee, who passed the following resolution, dated 4th November last:—

RESOLUTION OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

"The Committee expresses its profound gratitude to the new President, Sir Patrick Colquhoun, and to the other new members, as also to the old members who have worked from the beginning to ensure the success of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists. The Committee confirms Dr. Leitner in his capacity of organizing delegate of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists; congratulates him on his persistent activity, which has already united 350 signatories, and on the devotion which he has brought to bear on the accomplishment of his task, and in the struggle which he maintains in order to defend the liberty of science and the independence of

scholars. It begs him to take no notice of sterile discussions, and to concentrate his efforts towards the Congress meeting at the place originally fixed—namely, in London, in 1891."

Dr. Leitner and his truly representative Committee, alike international and national, strong in number, honesty of purpose, legal status, position, and scholarship, with excellent men as President and Vice-Presidents, are accordingly continuing their efforts to hold the Congress in London in that year, as you will see from the enclosed Report of Progress, and have met with remarkable success.

The following paragraph, that appeared in *The Times* of the 15th November, will complete my tale.

THE PROPOSED CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

We published on the 12th inst. a paragraph, under the above heading, in reference to a meeting of "the organizing committee of the Ninth Oriental Congress," held on Monday last in London, with Prof. Max Müller in the chair, at which the date of the next Congress was fixed for 1892, and other business transacted. In reference to this matter, Dr. G. W. Leitner writes to us from Woking, as "Organizing Secretary and Delegate from the founders for the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," denying that the gentlemen who composed the meeting in question have any authority to act on behalf of the Committee, and protesting against their proceedings. He says:—"By all means, let them have *a* Congress in 1892; it will not be *the* International Congress of Orientalists, which the written votes of over 300 signatories have settled for London in September, 1891. We have a strong Committee and a British President, who have been duly elected, and whose proceedings have been justified by the resolution of the French National Committee, the authority of which even our opponents must acknowledge."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
G. R. Badenoch, LL.D.,
Assistant Organizing Secretary General.

Whitehall Gardens, S.W., *Dec.* 24, 1890.

P.S.—I also send you a letter which I have just addressed to the secessionist Committee through one of their Secretaries.

Whitehall Gardens, London, S.W.,
29th Dec., 1890.

To the Rev. Dr. Bullinger, Woking.

Sir,--

I am just in receipt of your Circular dated December 8th, and in reply I beg to state:—1. That the General Meeting of the English Signatories and Representatives of the International Assembly of Orientalists did not suggest the 1st to the 10th September, 1891, as the date of the next Congress, but that it avowedly merely ratified and "*accepted*" the votes of the vast majority of Signatories in twenty-five countries in favour of London in 1891, that year having been put as "*au plus tard*" in the Circular dated Paris, 10th October, 1889, which we all have signed.

2. The Meeting at Paris of Signatories, of the Commission Administrative and of the Comité de Permanence was convened by Baron de Ravisi, the President of that Comité, which ratified the elections of the English Organizing Committee that had already been made by the written votes of the International Assembly of Orientalists prior to the 15th January, 1890; passed a vote of thanks to Sir Henry Rawlinson for having accepted the Presidency to which he had already been nominated, and which he had accepted as a protest to the Swedish proceedings, and appointed Dr. Leitner as Organizing Secretary and Delegate-General on behalf of the Founders and of the International Assembly. That Meeting also appointed the present French National Committee, to which it confided the organization for the Ninth Congress of 1891, so far as France is concerned; and at its conclusion the members of the Commission Administrative and the Comité de Permanence made over their powers to the English Organizing Committee for 1891, and for no other year. (See copy of powers referred to.) This and other resolutions of the Meeting of the 30th March were accepted, as you state, by the Second General Meeting held in London in April 29th, 1890.

3. After this a meeting of the English Organizing Committee was illegally convened for a few members on June 12th, and attempts were made at it by Dr. Ginsburg and others to get rid of the conditions of the powers made over to us by the French founders; and it was reserved for me and for Dr. Leitner to move an amendment in their support, which you now quote in order to give an *a posteriori* semblance of legality to your present illegal proceedings in combining with Professor Max Müller and with the members of the Christiania Committee (Messrs. Dillmann, Kuenen, Bühler, and Landberg, though you are keeping the name of the latter in the background at present), against which the Declaration, dated Woking, 18th November, 1889, signed by you, and the aforesaid Paris Circular were directed. You have, however, not copied from Dr. Leitner's (the only correct) Record of that meeting, that he protested, both in writing and verbally at the time, against the legality of that meeting. You do not state by what representations Sir H. Rawlinson and Sir M. E. Grant Duff were induced to resign in order to make room for Professor Max Müller; and you also omit Dr. Leitner's name from your Committee and

your Secretariat, well knowing his opposition to the act of your faction towards the Signatories which had long been in train.

4. You also do not mention the letter, dated 25th August, signed by Dr. Leitner, and supported by the original appointing authorities, showing that you, Sir George Birdwood, Professor Douglas, and Mr. Hewitt, could no longer continue to hold your respective offices, in consequence of your proceedings being opposed to the Paris Circular and resolutions: and you further do not explain how it came to pass that you held a small meeting of nine members of Committee at the British Museum on the 9th October, without previously informing the Signatories or even the majority of the Committee, that you intended thereat to elect Professor Max Müller as President.

You also do not explain why you invited Dr. Leitner and others to that meeting, and why you did not allow him and them to join it, in order that they might protest against the illegality of your proceedings, and point out to you, as a Delegation from the majority of the Committee, a *modus vivendi*, by which harmony might yet be restored, and, finally, you do not explain why you at that Meeting declared to be illegal the General Meeting of Representatives of the International Assembly of Orientalists, duly convened on the 6th October, at which Foreign Members of the eminence of Prof. Oppert, Prof. Abel, and Dr. Nordau were present, and at which the additions to the Organizing Committee made by the written votes of the Signatories in various countries were duly ratified.

5. You now say that in spite of the vital exceptions of the resignations of Sir H. Rawlinson and Sir M. E. Grant Duff, and in spite of the absence of Dr. Leitner, the Founders' Organizing Secretary and Delegate, and in spite of the illegal appointment of the main opponent of the movement as your President, "everything remains the same." It is *not* the same; you are a mere fraction of the original Committee, although you have dared to put names on your Committee without their previous knowledge and consent, or against their written protest. You are only eleven as against fifty-three duly elected members of the English Organizing Committee. Nor is it true, as stated by you, that "the continuity of the Committee is unbroken." The great majority of the original Committee and the additions to it, made by the 350 Signatories in various countries and duly ratified, are with *us*, not with you. *Your* additions, on the contrary, have been made without consulting the whole of the Committee, much less the body of the Signatories, who alone have the right of nomination, and who certainly would never have voted for Professor Max Müller, against whose encroachments on our Republic of Oriental Letters the whole movement is directed.

6. "The powers are," no doubt, "unchanged," for they refer to 1891, when *we* intend to hold the Congress; but you are out of their reach, as you are acting against them, and want to hold your Congress in 1892. As for the official "Records of Proceedings," they are also not in your hands, but in those of the Organizing Secretary, Dr. Leitner, who appointed you to assist him, who alone is entitled to keep the original papers, to whom

alone they are addressed and confided for the purpose of a Statutory Congress to be held in 1891.

7. I beg further to again enclose an extract from a resolution of the French National Committee, recognising our Committee under Sir Patrick Colquhoun and confirming the action of Dr. Leitner.

I have already warned you not to use our organization, founded with so much trouble and expense; but I see that you *are* using "The Record of Proceedings," tickets of membership, and other documents compiled by Dr. Leitner and printed at his expense, and that you have not yet returned the subscriptions which you obtained for the Congress of 1891, and in lieu of which literary and other papers have been sent by us to the subscribers at our expense, and whom you are now trying to tamper with in inducing them to change the year to that of 1892, which represents the Congress originally intended by the Christiania Committee of Professor M. Müller in opposition to our Statutory Congress.

8. I now call on you for the last time, to return to Dr. Leitner by next post the subscriptions, records, etc., which you are illegally detaining, and to refrain from using our organization in any way, or from calling your own Congress "The Ninth International Congress," thereby causing much confusion in men's minds, or from alleging that you are acting under the powers confided to us by the French founders. There is probably plenty of room for a Congress in 1892; and as you do not agree to the Congress of 1891, you must agree to differ, but you have no right to usurp functions, funds, and an organization from which your conduct has debarred you, and which you will be legally compelled to relinquish, unless your good sense induces you to abandon the false position which you are taking up, and into which, we regret to see, you have led the President and other office-holders of the Royal Asiatic Society, in spite of the pledge of neutrality of that Society, and whom you have also appointed without reference to the majority of the English Organizing Committee, or of the Signatories.

9. In conclusion, I would point out to you that it is not in favour of *united* action, which *we* at any rate desire, to forestall the vote of the Congress by already appointing a President of the *Congress* and Presidents of Sections *at* the Congress. There are many eminent foreign Scholars to whom that honour is due; and it is our intention to elect those office-holders, in accordance with rule and practice, when the Congress of 1891 takes place, and *by* the Congress, which also will then elect its own President and Vice-Presidents, our present office-holders being merely those of an organizing and preparatory Committee. As for meeting the convenience of the very small number among German and Dutch scholars who might prefer 1892 to 1891, in the face of 400 Orientalists in thirty countries who insist on 1891, we, acting under the powers transferred to us, cannot change the date of the year to 1892, or the place from London to Oxford, as seems to be contemplated by your unauthorized appointment of four

Oxford men as Vice-Presidents without the previous voting thereon of the Signatories.

I am, sir,
Your obedient servant,
G. R. BADENOCH, LL.D.,
Assistant Organizing Secretary General for the Statutory
Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.

P.S.– We have just received the protests of Dr. Bellew, Dr. Beddoe, Mr. Brabrook and others against the unauthorized use of their names on your Committee; and I request you to withdraw forthwith all the names of our members from your Circular, whose previous consent you have not received. G. R. B.

The "Matsya Sukta," by Professor Max Müller.

THE "Matsya Sukta" is a poem of six stanzas, by Professor Max Müller, in praise of a fish called salmon, or in German "*Lachs,*" rendered into "*Laksha.*"

After going through the above, it struck me and other Pandits at first sight, that our learned Professor has made it a parody of a *Vaidic Sukta* for the purpose of pleasing his friends. If our supposition be correct, we congratulate the Professor on his success; but we regret at the same time that the Vedas, the most sacred works of the Hindus, upon which the Hindu religion is chiefly and originally based, have been ridiculed in such a childish manner by a great and grave man like Prof. Max Müller, who is generally regarded as a great admirer of the Vedas and chief defender of Hinduism. For a parody or mockery like this might lower the Vedas in the estimation of the Hindus, who have held the Vedas in the highest respect from times immemorial.

The Hindus consider the Vedas as ever existing with the Almighty Himself, and not to have been composed by any one. The Hindu philosophers, too, after long and earnest discussion, have established the same truth in regard to the Vedas. The ancient sages, like Valmiki,

Vasishṭḥa, and Vyasa, etc., who were Ṛishis in the true sense of the word, and probably much more acquainted with the Vedas than a Rishi of this iron age, used another style of language, quite different from that of the Vedas, called the Laukiki or the language of men, for the purpose of keeping the purity of the Vedas unalloyed. By doing this they have strictly prohibited common men from corrupting the Vedas by interpolation of such parodies or joking poems of their own. It is evident that a parody like this brings the Vedas, the original spring of the Hindu religion, to a lower level, which a Hindu cannot bear.

On the other hand, if the Professor has seriously intended by this to show how vast his command in the Vaidic language is, and how deserving he is of the title (Ṛishi) which he has assumed, then the whole thing is quite absurd, as well as highly inappropriate, and his attempt in it is an entire failure.

For instance, we take first the name of the poem, "*Matsya Sukta.*" The word "*Sukta*" is a purely Vaidic technical term, meaning a collection of Mantras or "rics" used in the address of a particular deity; so it is quite absurd to use this very word in the sense of a common poem, though it might be a collection of stanzas treating of the same subject. The stanzas written by Prof. Max Müller cannot anyhow be considered Vaidic Mantras, for, as we have already said, according to the Hindu Sa'stras the Vaidic Mantras are not creations of any existing being. Prof. Max Müller is of course well acquainted with this fact, but still he calls his poem a Sukta. What greater absurdity can there be than this?

A Vaidic Sukta has—1st, a deity, or the subject-matter it treats of; 2nd, the metre in which it is written; 3rd, the Ṛishi by whom it was first seen; and 4th, the Viniyoga, or its use in a particular religious ceremony. Our Professor also heads his poem after this with its deity, the fish Laksha; its metre, Gayatri; and its Ṛishi, the Professor

himself; but he forgets to mention the last and most important one, the Viniyoga, which is, no doubt, a great defect, for without knowledge of the Viniyoga a *Sukta* is thoroughly useless.

In fact, the deity, metre, and Ṛishi, etc., belonging to a Sukta, are all Vaidic technicalities. This does never mean a subject-matter treated of in a common poem, but only what has been treated of in a genuine Vaidic Sukta. Does the poem under review belong to an original Veda, Ṛic, Yajur, or Saman? If not, then what right has its author to call its subject-matter by the name of a deity? We shall be highly obliged if the author will kindly satisfy us with any authority.

Metres are of two kinds—Vaidics and Laukikas. The Vaidic metres are chiefly confined to Vedas, while the Laukikas are only for use in common poetry. So each of the metres Gayatri, etc., has duplicate forms entirely differing from each other. The chief characteristic of the Vaidic form of metre is the accent mark of its words, *i.e.*, each word in it must be marked with its proper accent; for it is said in the Bháshya of Panini that a word improperly accented kills the utterer just like *Indra Satur*. It is evident from the above that a Vaidic metre cannot be used in common poetry, and even in the Vedas every word in it must be marked with its proper accent marks. But we are sorry to see that Prof. Max Müller, the great Vaidic scholar of the day, has violated this rule by using the Vaidic form of the Gayatri metre in his own poem.

Now regarding the Ṛishi. The Ṛishi of a Sukta means the first seer of a *Sukta*, or one to whom the Sukta was first revealed in its complete form. For according to the Hindu Ṣa'stras, though the Vedas are ever existing, they occasionally disappear at the time of Pralaya or deluge. And at the beginning of the new creation they were again partly revealed by the will of God to the internal eyes of some particular men who were called Ṛishis. So there are a good many Ṛishis in the Vedas. It must be understood here,

that in every creation the Vedas are revealed to the same men only. So no new Ṛishis can occupy a place in the Vedas. Now we may ask the favour of the Professor supplying us on what authority he has called himself Ṛishi, knowing already that his poem can never be reckoned as an original part of the Vedas.

Moreover, the poem does neither indicate any extraordinary skill on the author's part, nor any uncommon scholarship in Sanskrit learning; but, on the contrary, it shows his deficiency in modern Sanskrit grammar. The author has written not only in the Vaidic style, but has also kept throughout the Vaidic grammatical construction of words; which is not only strictly prohibited to a modern poet, but is also considered असाधु or incorrect. So the words पुर्भेभिः *Purbhebhih*, etc., though they might be correct according to the Vaidic grammar, cannot be used by a modern poet. For none but the Ṛishis had the privilege of using such forms of words. The Ṛishis, according to the Hindu Sa'stras are of two kinds: 1st, those to whom the Mantras of the Vedas were originally revealed; 2nd, those who, being Brahmans by caste, are remarkable for learning, asceticism, truthfulness, and profound scholarship in the Vedas. As neither a Vaidic Mantra has ever been revealed to the Professor, the poem under review is not a Vaidic Mantra of course, nor is he a Brahman by caste; thus it is evident that he has no right to use such forms of words in his own composition. The famous poet Bhavabhuti indeed followed sometimes the Vaidic style in his writing, but he carefully kept to the modern grammatical construction throughout. So the modern poets are bound to observe always the rules of modern grammar, otherwise their writings cannot be considered साधु or correct.

In conclusion, we may point out, that no extraordinary scholarship is to be found in the poem, for the poem consists of six stanzas, or eighteen lines only; but even in those few lines, passages from the Ṛig-Veda are borrowed without the slightest alteration, as would appear from the

passages quoted below from the poem as well as from the Ṛig-Veda, placed side by side for comparison.

PASSAGES OF THE POEM.	PASSAGES OF THE RIG-VEDA.
सखायो ऽभि प्रगायत	निषीदतेंद्रमभि प्र गायत । सखायः (मं १ सु ५ ऋं १)
मत्स्यः पूर्वेभिर्ऋषिभि रीड्ये नूतनैरुत	अग्निः पूर्वेभिर्ऋषिभि रीड्यो नूतनैरुत । (मं १ ऋं १ सू १ ऋ २)
स लक्ष्मीमिह वक्षति	स देवां एह वक्षति । (मं १ ऋं १ सू १ ऋ २)
स्वादिष्ठया मदिष्ठया सुपिक्तो मत्स्यो धारया	स्वादिष्ठया मदिष्ठया पवस्व सोमधारया (मं ६ ऋं १ सू ऋ १)

For a Sanskrit poet, nothing is more discrediting than to borrow passages. Besides such words as अद्भुत, पुरुप्रिय, etc., are repeated in Mantras of the same metre (Gayatri) in the Rig-Veda. See the Ṛics सहसस्पुत्रो अद्भुत मं । अ २ । स ३ etc. So nobody feels the least difficulty in picking them up. Thus we see in the Poem that the author's own words are very few, and these too do not indicate any capital security in the author. In our opinion a poem like this is not a creditable performance, even if it came from the pen of an ordinary Sanskrit scholar.

Lastly, it struck us very much to see that the word Lakshmi is translated as "goddess of happiness." One having the least acquaintance with Sanskrit literature knows very well that Lakshmi is the goddess of wealth or fortune, and not of happiness.

After all, the poem is full of inconsistencies and absurdities which the readers will easily find out; for instance, in the third stanza, the fish Laksha is said to be praised by modern poets as well as by those of old times. Here Ṛishi is translated poet, which is absurd. Again, in India, neither the Rishis of modern times nor those of old were

acquainted with the fish, which is confined to Northern Seas. How then could they praise it, even in a jocular poem by Professor Max Müller?

PANDIT HRISHIKESH SHASTRI,
Editor of the *Vidyodaya*.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

ASIA.—There has been much of general interest in the affairs of the last quarter in commercial, political and social matters. As regards the first, it is satisfactory to know, that in spite of the fickle rupee, against whose downward tendency there was a hopeful reaction during the year, to suffer again a serious relapse during the quarter under review, the trade of India shows a steady increase, and, according to Mr. J. E. O'Connor's annual report, it exceeded by $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that of the preceding year. The amounts given are colossal; and without going in for lines of ten figures, we may briefly state that last year there was an increase of exports over imports of nearly $18\frac{3}{4}$ crores* of rupees, the average annual excess during the past ten years being a little over 17 crores. Although the number of ships which entered Indian ports was slightly less than in the year 1887–8, the tonnage was greater than in any year during the last ten, and it is worthy of remark that the trade with Continental ports has also greatly increased of late. The trade with Germany has quintupled since the last five years, chiefly in exports, but the largest amount of tonnage, sailing under foreign colours, falls to the share of Austria, Germany coming next, then Italy, and lastly France.

We have not time, nor is this the place, for an exhaustive analysis of the mercantile operations of the year, but shall only touch upon one or two points of general interest. Most people who have been in India till recently have observed a growing demand for European luxuries amongst the lower classes of even out-of-the-way districts. There are few places into which Swedish *Tandstickors* and Bryant and May's matches have not penetrated, and the

* A crore is ten million rupees.

old oil *cherágh* is giving way rapidly to the mineral oil lamp. Mr. O'Connor's report confirms this. Imports of mineral oils have more than doubled in five years, and amounted to over 53 million gallons last year. Much of this came from Russia, but petroleum of the finest quality has lately been discovered in India.

Exports, which reached the huge total of 105 crores of rupees, increased nearly seven per cent.; and a new industry has got a start which bids fair to compete with America and Australia, and that is the manufacture of flour, which has been established chiefly in Bombay.

Altogether the report is very satisfactory, and should be studied by those who take up Indian questions, especially on the lines laid down by political agitators who harp on the woes of the Indian ryot.

Never has money been so scarce in the Pekin treasury or so badly required since the Great Rebellion; and the thirty million tael Railway loan still hangs fire. The following gives a deplorable picture of the tea industry in Foochow. "Men hitherto well to do have been ruined; homes have been broken up by the score; wives and children have been sold, and many suicides committed."

In contrast with the reserve of the Chinese, is the go-ahead spirit of the Siamese, who seem to be more like the people of Japan. We learn that the King of Siam has determined to take in hand at once the railway line to Kerat, at a cost of over 9½ millions of dollars, to be allotted from a surplus of former years and from the private fortune of the king. China, however, under its present enlightened ruler, is making progress, when we contrast the China of to-day with that of twenty years ago. A suggestive symptom is the decree just issued, that on their next New Year's day the ambassadors of "the western nations," such as the ministers of Great Britain, France, Russia, the United States, and Holland, are to receive an audience of the Emperor, followed by a banquet; and this ceremony is to be continued every year. The ques-

tion of audience has been under discussion for centuries. So far back as 1816 Lord Amherst flatly refused to *kotow* —that is, to kneel and knock the head against the ground in presence of the emperor. Thus the British sailor paved the way for the American minister to dispense with the whole of this ceremony in order to protect those "duties which every western nation owes to its own dignity," and to introduce, through the present emperor, the brotherhood of monarchies even among the celestials.

In Central Asia Russia is never idle; there is no eastern apathy about her movements. Although an eminent military critic recently made light of the strategic importance of the Transcaspian railway, it is a known fact that the line is a financial success; and, from recent accounts, it appears that the traffic-yielding capacities of the country tapped by it are much greater than was at first supposed. Large consignments of Bokhara cotton for Moscow have been sent by it, and a considerable increase has taken place in the cotton-growing areas in Bokhara, Turkistan, and Ferghana. A line of railway that pays its way will always be an effective one when called upon for military transport, and therefore it is not wise to minimize its importance in taking it into account when speculating on the probabilities of the future.

Politics in Afghanistan are quiescent at the present time. The Amir has recovered from another attack of gout, and has been engaged in domestic matters, his son, Nasr ulla Jan, having been married with much pomp and ceremony at Cabul to the daughter of Sirdar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Governor of Zamindawar, Garishk, and Farrah, a Barakzai chief of great repute. The girl was, as an infant, first betrothed to Abdullah Jan, the late Amir Ali's youngest son; but his death prevented the marriage, as it coincided with the Cabul war of 1878.

It is customary amongst the Amirs of Cabul that at least one of their wives must be of their own family, the Barakzai.

At present the Amir has no petty wars on hand; but it would be too much to expect perfect peace throughout Afghanistan and its border-lands, and from the latter comes a story combining comedy with tragedy.

Umra Khan is a border chieftain, whose personal bravery and audacity have only been equalled by his good fortune, and the latter certainly did not desert him on a recent occasion. Another chief, the Khan of Dir, gave his nephew the command of a force with instructions to attack Ramoara, a fort built by Umra Khan on the other side of the Swat river as a defence against forays from Swat. At the same time, the Khan of Dir ordered the people of Jallala to make an attack on the fort; and, as they acted independently of each other, the two forces met at night, and, mistaking each other for a body of Umra Khan's men, fell on and fought till, after thirteen men, including the Khan's nephew, were killed, it was discovered that they were killing their own friends. According to *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Umra Khan is ambitious and rules with a rod of iron. His character is strangely chivalrous, and even his enemies tell stories of him that would seem to belong to the era of King Arthur and his knights; and moreover he has the highest appreciation of the value of the goodwill and friendship of the Government of India.

Two serious social questions are agitating our Hindu and Muhammedan fellow-subjects in India. The first is the raising of the age of consent in marriage. It has been alleged that reform is urgently required in this direction; but the general feeling is, that it should come from the people themselves, without the interference of the State. The orthodox majority are strongly against Government legislation, and many thinking men amongst Europeans are of opinion that the question should be left to the people themselves. Another delicate matter is the wounding of the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammedans by the attempt to produce on the stage in England a play in

which Muhammad was to be represented. The indignation aroused has been widespread, and it is to be hoped that the idea of bringing out such a play will not be revived from motives of good taste and a proper feeling for our Muhammedan fellow-subjects and allies. There can be no parallel drawn between it and the Oberammergau representations, but even the latter are distasteful to thousands of Christians.

In Eastern exploration the latest event is the return of Prince Henry of Orleans and M. Bonvalot after an absence of fifteen months, during which they traversed the Russian and Chinese possessions. We may soon expect an account of considerable interest. There has been some rather acrimonious correspondence on the subject of this journey, and claims are made on behalf of English and Russian explorers to equal, if not greater, honours; but true lovers of geographical science will always welcome fresh observations, and make allowances for some natural exultation on the part of the nations to which the successful explorers belong. No doubt an English officer has made an equally, if not more hazardous, journey, but that is no reason why we should be indignant at more honour being shown in France to the French explorers than we show to ours. Whatever may have been our shortcomings as regards English travellers in Central Asia, we have not been backward in "fuss" over Stanley, and our French friends may throw that precipitateness back in our teeth.

AFRICA AND THE COLONIES.—The subject which has most occupied men's minds during the quarter has been the revelation of the atrocities alleged to have been committed in Africa, especially by Stanley's Rearguard. It is this question—and not the personal quarrels between Stanley and his officers—which we trust the Aborigines' Protection Society will investigate in a thorough and impartial manner.

African exploration receives yearly additional contri-

butions. During the last quarter a most interesting report by Mr. H. H. Johnston, C.B., Consul at Mozambique, was read before the Royal Geographical Society, of a journey into Nyassaland, the primary object of which was to try and bring to an end a wearisome war which had been going on between the Arabs and the African Lake Company. The Arabs had originated the quarrel by attempting to conquer the country which the Lake Company claimed as being under their influence, and both parties had been nearly worn out in the conflict. Mr. Johnston, whose tact and knowledge of the character of the Swahilis and of their language eminently fitted him for the task, undertook to mediate; the way in which he did it showed an amount of personal daring which doubtless was a principal factor in commanding the respect of the Arabs. They would not come to the European headquarters, and the garrison at Karonga, suspicious of the Arabs, disliked the idea of Mr. Johnston placing himself in their power; but he took the matter into his own hands, and early one morning walked out unarmed to the Arab camp, where he was received by the head men, and a treaty of peace was settled, and eventually signed with much ceremony. Mr. Johnston is an experienced African traveller, but he is, moreover, one, to use the words of Sir James Ferguson, the present Under-secretary of State for foreign affairs, who "wherever he goes makes friends, and impresses on the natives the most favourable view of the British character."

The particular question between Britain and Portugal, which gave rise to so much irritation among the Portuguese, has been settled, but there are still matters pending, the early friendly solution of which is extremely desirable. A decree has been published permitting the transit of foreign goods between Beira and the British sphere of influence, at a duty of 3 per cent. *ad valorem;* and another decree declares the navigation of the Zambesi and the Sheré, formerly under the influence of Portugal, free to

all nations on the same principles which were established between Britain and France with respect to the Niger at the Berlin Conference. It is certain that the differences which have since arisen in Manicaland between the British and Portuguese officers will be satisfactorily settled. We also trust that the arrival of Mr. Rhodes, the Premier of Cape Colony, will tend to adjust the relations of the Portuguese to that colony in an amicable spirit.

A new French committee on African affairs has been established by such men as Prince d'Arenberg, M. Aynard, deputy for Lyons, General Borquis Desbordes, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Nantes, the Director of the *Journal des Debats*, and many other prominent Frenchmen. The document issued by this committee contains the following statement: "We are at present assisting at a unique spectacle in history the actual division of a continent scarcely known by the civilized nations of Europe. In this division France is entitled to the largest share by reason of having consented to the abandonment of her rights in Eastern Africa in favour of other nations, and by reason of the efforts she has made in Algeria, Tunis, Senegal, and the Congo district. The Anglo-French convention has already ratified the union across the Sahara of Senegal and Algeria. The same document accords us a footing north of Lake Tchad to be acquired from the Congo by way of Baghirmi. This will ratify the union across the Soudan of the French Congo and Senegal with Algeria and Tunis."

Mr. J. Thomson and Mr. Grant (the son of the African explorer) are now engaged in exploring the country between Lake Nyassa and the confines of the Congo Free State and Portuguese West African territory. They hoped to reach Blantyre about the end of the year.

The chief event in AUSTRALIA has been the placing of Western Australia on the same footing as the other divisions of the island in the matter of self-government.

The strikes, which for a time hampered trade in the larger seaports, have now happily been brought to an end, and the agitation that has been on foot for the division of Queensland into two parts is receiving very serious attention.

A very important proposal is made by the British Government to the Government of the Dominion of Canada to appoint a Canadian Judge to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. Considering the large number of cases, involving intricate legal rights and erudite principles of international law in consequence of the guarantees to the French Canadians, such a plan will do much to cement the bond of union with the Dominion of Canada, and will form an excellent precedent for extending the same advantage to India, Australia, and other Colonies.

The wisdom of the Canadian treatment of the Red Indians forcibly contrasts with the conduct of the Indian Agents of the United States Government, who, after driving the hungry redskins into disaffection, may, in an almost stimulated rebellion, find a good excuse for exterminating those whose territory is desired.

We refrain from saying more on the subject of the Colonies, as our article on "Imperial Federation" touches what must be, at present, considered as a vital question of their future existence as a part of the British Empire in days when all nations are gathering their scattered forces and uniting for possible struggles. On this point we should much like to be favoured with the views of our colonial readers. In the meanwhile, we cannot do better than conclude with the telegram from Ottawa in *The Times* of the 18th instant: that "the Hon. George E. Foster, the Minister of Finance, is on a visit to the West Indies, with the view of promoting reciprocal commercial relations, and a federation of the West India Islands with the Dominion."

R. A. S.

We congratulate the Educational Department of the Punjab on having "the right man in the right place" by the appointment of Principal J. Sime to the Directorship of Public Instruction. The choice of Sir James Lyall has given immense satisfaction, for Mr. Sime is not only the senior officer in the Educational Department, and in every way, both as a scholar and an administrator, fitted for the post, but he also combines a genuine sympathy with the natives, with an intimate knowledge of every detail of higher and popular education, gained in his long and successful career as Inspector of Schools and as Professor and Principal of Government Colleges. He is also a distinguished metaphysician and a linguist of considerable merit. His personal intercourse is characterized by a kindness of disposition, which, added to his other qualities, will make his administration of the Educational Department as popular as it will be successful. We are glad that Sir James Lyall has, unlike Sir Charles Aitchison, not allowed a junior civilian to take away the legitimate prize of the Educational Department, in defiance of justice and the orders of successive Secretaries of State for India.

We have read General Booth's paper called "All the World," especially as regards India and the Colonies, and we intend to discuss in our next what seems to be his alleged scheme for the universal domination of the souls, the actions, and the pockets of mankind.

OBITUARY.

Death has removed more than one familiar name from our list of notables during the last quarter. Sir Richard Francis Burton, K.C.M.G., died on October 20th, 1890, at Trieste, where he held the post of Consul. He was born in 1821, and joined the Bombay army in 1842. He showed a remarkable aptitude for languages, and not only mastered all Eastern tongues within his reach, but also the religious beliefs and practices of both Hindus and Muhammadans; and in 1853, disguised as a Pathan, he carried out a pilgrimage to Mecca, the account of which he published in 1855. In 1854 Burton undertook to penetrate the Somali country by way of Harrar and Gananah to Zanzibar. Lieutenants Herne, Stroyan, and Speke were associated with him. Burton assumed the character of an Arab merchant, and reached Harrar on the 4th of January, 1855. On his return to Aden he arranged for a new expedition to the Upper Nile *viâ* Harrar, and he landed at Berbera on the 7th of April; but on the 29th his camp was attacked by Somalis, and Lieut. Stroyan was killed and Burton and Speke were severely wounded.

The idea of penetrating farther was then abandoned, and the expedition returned to Aden. After this, Burton offered his services in the Crimean War, and joined the irregular cavalry under Beatson. On his return to England he put himself into communication with the Royal Geographical Society; and as African exploration was at that time attracting much attention, he proposed to organize an expedition for the purpose of ascertaining the limits of the sea of Ujiji or Unyamwesi Lake, and also to determine the exportable produce of the interior and the ethnography of its tribes. The proposal was entertained, and the Government made a grant of £1,000 towards the expenses.

Burton got two years' leave of absence from the East India Company, and, accompanied again by Speke, he started from Bombay in December, 1856, and from Zanzibar about six months later; and, after much difficulty and privation, they sighted the first of the great African lakes, Tanganyika, on the 13th of February, 1858.

Both Burton and Speke had suffered much from illness, but at this time the former was nearly blind, and so he sent Speke to reconnoitre the north end of the lake. After staying some time at Ujiji they returned to Tabara, where Burton, almost prostrate, remained to write up his observations, and Speke went on to the north and discovered the Victoria Nyanza, which somewhat affected the relations between the two companions that unhappily had become strained. Burton's official report appeared in the twenty-ninth volume of the Geographical Society's *Journal*, and in the same year, 1859, he published his book, "The Lake Region of Equatorial Africa."

In 1861 he visited Utah, and published his "City of the Saints." In the beginning of the same year he married; and Lady Burton (Isabel Arundell) threw herself heart and soul into all that her accomplished husband undertook. He could not have chosen better. In the autumn of 1861 he was appointed consul at Fernando Po; and, true to his exploring instincts, he visited Abeokuta, and crossed to the Cameroons, which gave another subject to his indefatigable pen; and two years after he published "Abeokuta and the Cameroon Mountains." In 1863 he went on a mission to Dahomey, and then gave his experiences to the public in two volumes, "A Mission to Gelelé, King of Dahomey." Then a journey up the Congo produced "Gorilla-land; or, The Cataracts of the Congo," which, however, did not appear till 1873, and the "Lands of Cazembe" was published by the Royal Geographical Society in the same year. Before this he had been appointed to a consular post in Brazil, and wrote a book on the highlands of that country in 1867. In 1868 he was appointed consul at

Damascus, and two more volumes appeared on "Unexplored Syria" in collaboration with another. In 1872 he visited Iceland, and wrote "Ultima Thule." He produced in turn "The Gold Mines of Midian," 1878; "The Land of Midian Revisited," 1879; "To the Gold Coast for Gold," 1883. His great work, "The Arabian Nights," was brought out in 1885-6; but he had besides written many other volumes and numberless papers to various scientific societies. As a consummate linguist, versatile writer, keen observer, and an untiring explorer, he was a man who stood by himself. He was not popular with some; but no one will deny him his place as one of the foremost of our national pioneers, if not the very foremost. He received but scanty honour from his country, and was tardily made a K.C.M.G. in 1887; and it was only on the 20th of last October that England was startled with a thrill of regret at the news that "Mecca Burton" had passed away in a foreign land on the verge of the time allotted to the days of man. He looked forward to settling down in England, and to taking an active part in the Statutory International Congress of Orientalists of this year, the Vice-presidency of which he had accepted.

CHARLES MARVIN, a well-known prolific writer, has been called away at an early age. His works on Central Asia, and the questions arising in connection with Russian designs thereon, attracted a good deal of attention both in this country and in Russia, where he had imbibed views which, as he himself explained to the writer of this notice, will excuse the manner in which he first brought himself into public notoriety.

M. PIERRE DE TCHIHATCHEF, born 1812, died on the 13th October. A scion of a noble Russian family, he was for some years in the diplomatic service of his country, and, like many of his countrymen, was an accomplished linguist, but, above all, a man of superior scientific attainments. He

made several exhaustive explorations of Asia Minor at his own expense, and contributed largely to scientific journals, besides producing some eight or nine separate volumes. His greatest work was his "Asie Mineure," in eight volumes, with an atlas. He resided for some time in England, and married a Scotch lady, a Ramsay of the Dalhousie family. For some years however he had been domiciled in Florence, where the writer had the privilege of his friendship; and the blank he has left in a numerous circle of acquaintances there will not be easily filled up.

R. A. S.

REVIEWS.

Life in an Indian Village. By T. Ramakrishna, B.A. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.)

We have read with great pleasure the book, "Life in an Indian Village," as it deals with an interesting and not at all unimportant subject in a plain and unpretending way. Simplicity has a powerful charm of its own; and we recommend the book to all whose heart can still be touched by inartificial descriptions of idyllic, gently flowing, country life. He who does not assume the tone of, "India, what can it teach us?" but cares to profit by teaching, will learn a great deal even from these simple village tales.

The introduction to the book is written by Sir M. E. Grant Duff, who gives a short outline of the work, corroborates much from his own experience, and seasons the whole with a little light criticism and with a few words of deserved praise.

The theme of Mr. Ramakrishna's simple lay, is a village rejoicing in the euphonious name of "Kélambakam," situated on the Palar, between Conjeeveram and Mahabalipuram, not far from the spot known to Europeans as the "Seven Pagodas," made famous by Southey's "Curse of Kehama." Whether Kélambakam is a real or fictitious name, the fact remains that there are some fifty-five thousand similar villages scattered over the Madras presidency, a territory, by the way, considerably larger than the British Isles. Mr. Ramakrishna in his first chapter describes the head-man or "munsiff," the accountant, and the watchman. The first, named Kothundarama Mudelly, is in his liberality worthy of his ancestors, who built and endowed the temple of the village; he is "beloved by all its men," and is "the arbiter of all their petty strifes." The accountant is shrewd, but withal a thoroughly good man; and the watchman's very appearance bears witness to his honesty and bodily strength.

The second chapter is slightly marred by introducing an observation of a "thoughtful Englishman," having the "true interests of India at heart," to the effect that caste formed the greatest stumbling-block to the regeneration of India. As there are not many books giving detailed facts about Indian village life, but, on the contrary, swarms of "thoughtful" Englishmen busying themselves with the affairs of others, and giving utterance to most contradictory observations, each one having scores of most irreconcilable "interests at heart," we should have preferred the most insignificant fact in the place of this profound and oracular observation. Mr. Ramakrishna then goes on to describe the venerable astrologer, or Purōhita, the temple priests, and the schoolmaster; the useful simple life the latter leads is of special interest; his name is Nalla Killai, and he is a universal friend and counsellor. When school is over, the villagers often gather round him, listening to his recitations and explanations of verses from the Mahabharata.—

> "And oft at night when ended was their toil,
> The villagers with souls enraptured heard him
> In fiery accents speak of Krishna's deeds
> And Rama's warlike skill, and wondered that
> He knew so well the deities they adored."

There are many other important personages, and interesting descriptions of the amusements, customs, and religious practices of the villagers; but for all these we must refer to the book itself. The only deplorable fact to which Mr. Ramakrishna has occasion to refer is, that in consequence of fixed taxes having to be paid in money, the money-lender has already established himself, and manages to keep his clients in debt; the unrivalled facilities of European education have also brought into being a class of pettifogging lawyers, with a smattering of legal knowledge, whose business it is to stir up strife and wrangling, out of which they make an easy income. Means, however, may be found to get rid of these two pests; and it is to be hoped that the time will never come when the disintegrating and

destructive influence of the West will cause an Indian Goldsmith to lament the days that have passed away, when happiness, purity, and simple joys reigned in the "deserted village" of Kélambakám. H.

The Rajah's Heir. A New Edition. (*Smith, Elder & Co.*, 15, *Waterloo Place, London.*)

The general English public, and especially the section that has painfully acquired a store of misconceptions regarding India, will be charmed with this novel. The circumstance that its chief events are enacted in that vast continent which ever has been, and still is, the home of wonders, is alone sufficient to create an interest. The constant succession of stirring scenes, the thrilling encounters, the perilous situations, all unmarred by irritating facts and distressing inquiries into causes, will delight the lover of the adventurous. Almost boundless credulity, that endearing trait of novel readers, nourished as it is by the improbable, will be strengthened and confirmed by the ingeniously devised plot, in which the bastard of an Eurasian is anxiously expected from England and joyfully received as Rajah by a Hindu people, whose language he does not know, and whose religious belief he cannot understand. The love of the supernatural, weird, and inexplicable, so common in the hyper-artificial, unstrung beings of this professedly materialistic age, will be satisfied by the suggestive hints throughout the book and references to incarnations and transmigrations that would be puzzling even to a Hindu.

The hero of the story has all the necessary attributes to make him popular; his expressive face and general appearance are by far his best endowments; the ease with which from a budding architect he fills the post of Rajah without fulfilling any of its duties shows his descent from an imperial race; the marvellous good luck that attends his aimless existence, completely under the sway of impulses, will excite no envy, but will raise great hopes in every breast.

There is one matter in which we would almost have found fault with the author: he offers no explanation of how a Brahmin comes to have the name of "Dost Ali Khan," but it has occurred to us that few would expect an explanation. We conclude our remarks, as we have no wish to divulge all the various attractions that will assuredly make this book popular. H.

Persian Plays.

All students of Persian who intend to acquire a thorough as well as a practical knowledge of the language, will welcome with pleasure a little work that has lately been published by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., consisting of three plays from the Turkish, in the modern Persian idiom, with a literal translation, vocabulary and notes by Mr. A. Rogers, late of the Bombay Civil Service.

Whilst we cannot too strongly deprecate and condemn the prevailing tendency of drawing a sharp line of demarcation between so-called "classical language" and "modern idiom," and under the latter head of seriously studying dialect, *patois* and slang, our objections do not in any way apply to productions of the kind before us, which, on the contrary, we believe to be of the greatest value as supplementary to the study of classical authors. The book in question is well got up, the printing is clear, though in the Persian text we should have liked the type to be of the kind commonly in use in Persia. The vocabulary and the translation are singularly free from error, and their arrangement and position in the book appear both practical and handy. The late Persian Ambassador is said to have expressed the opinion that the book will be equally useful for Persians desirous of learning English, as for Englishmen wishing to learn modern Persian. With this opinion we entirely agree. H.

An Arabic-English Dictionary on a New System. By H. Anthony Salmoné. In two vols., 8vo (London: Trübner & Co., 1890).

Great care has been taken by Mr. Salmoné in the production of this dictionary, and it is the result of considerable and conscientious labour. In a comparatively small bulk the author has accumulated a surprising wealth of material; the first volume, the Arabic-English part, consists of 1,254 octavo pages, which is not too much for a work of this kind.

The chief sources from which the author has drawn are the dictionaries, vocabularies, or lexicons of Lane, Cuche, Freytag, Kasimirski, Dozy, etc.; it is sufficient to compare the work of Mr. Salmoné with those of his predecessors to see that he has quite attained his object, viz., to condense in the smallest possible space the greatest possible amount of material. How has the author realized this ideal?

"Instead of giving," he says, "under each root the various nouns, adjectives, etc., with their plurals, I refer by figures to a table of model forms which will be found attached to the dictionary, and in which the consonants and vowel-points, characteristic of every derivative form, are printed in red, so as to be readily distinguished from the radical letters. For the use of this table, and for other particulars, the learner is referred to the accompanying notes." The figures under the roots correspond with forms in the table, and take the place of different derivatives from that root. The author goes on to say: "the system I have devised is one which has enabled me to save a vast amount of space and expense."

The system of the author, into the details of which we are unable to enter here, is certainly remarkably ingenious and, as it appeared to us, very judicious; nevertheless, taking all in all, it does not seem practical to us, as it necessitates, in fact, a constant reference to the meaning of a great many abbreviations. Is such a system of the

nature to facilitate the apprenticeship of the Arabic language, and to familiarize the student with the difficulties? We think not. The derivatives written in full under the roots seems to us a far simpler arrangement and a much more direct and practical initiation. It will be urged, and reasonably so, that under the latter system the aim of the author would not have been accomplished; no doubt, but does this not amount to an avowal that the system followed is tainted with an inherent vice?

However much the method may seem to us one to be cautioned against, it is by no means a reason why praises should be grudged to the author; as far as ours are concerned, they are gladly bestowed upon him and on his publishers, who have placed within the reach of every student of Arabic the most portable, probably the cheapest, and certainly, in spite of the drawback to which we have alluded, a most useful dictionary of the Arabic language.

M.

Afghan Poetry of the Seventeenth Century, being selections from the poems of Khush Hal Khan Khatak, with translations and grammatical introductions, edited and compiled by C. E. Biddulph, M.A. (*London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.*, 1890).

What Professor J. Darmesteter has rendered immortal in Europe by the inimitable grace of his pen, what Major Raverty has originally brought to notice, Dr. Trumpp has laboured at, and Dr. W. H. Bellew commends as *facile princeps*, Mr. C. E. Biddulph introduces, as a careful student, to students of the Afghan language. In common with every other Oriental language, Pushtu or Pakhtu is neglected, for it is so much easier to ignore than to study a foreign race or language, on the assumed ground of the superiority of everything English. Among the Afghans also there is a tendency towards denationalization and subsequent decay, which may begin by a contempt for their patriotic Pushtu in favour of the more elegant Persian;

then may discard Persian for the more useful Hindustani or Urdu, and then descend easily into the English Avernus. In the meanwhile, publishers like Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. are doing a service to Oriental studies by bringing out such works as that of Mr. Biddulph; and Mr. Biddulph is entitled to our warmest thanks for placing Khush Hal's poems within the easy comprehension and reach of general and special readers. "Afghanistan has always been a country abounding in rustic poems," but "amongst all those productions of local talent the poems of Khush Hal Khan Khatak, the famous chief and warrior, and Abd-ul-Rahman, the philosopher and novelist, have ever held the foremost place in the affections of their fellow-countrymen," who, not unlike Scotch clans and scenery, are rugged, but whose manliness, respect for the weaker sex, and delicacy of sentiment, will ever recommend them to the European. Mr. Biddulph, we see, attaches little credit to their belief in a Jewish descent. He gives a sketch of Afghan history, and describes Khush Hal Khan Khatak's personal and political hatred of the Emperor Aurangzêb, who endeavoured to reduce the Afghans to absolute submission to his rule, an attempt which the Khataks, of whom Khush Hal was Chief, long foiled. Khush Hal was very versatile, and found it easy to proceed from grave to gay, and from appeals to war, duty, God and country to descriptions of hawking and conviviality. A judicious selection from his poems must, therefore, be invaluable to the student of the Afghan language; and provided as the selection is by a grammatical introduction, vocabularies of military and other terms, idiomatic expressions, and what generally seems to be a literal translation of the poems, Mr. Biddulph's work cannot fail to meet the appreciation which it deserves from all the officers, travellers, and scholars who study, as they should, the language of the Afghans.

Some of the poems read very well, even in their translated form :—

"What is that, if not Good Health,
Which better than an Empire is!
If aught more precious is than wealth,
Than wealth sure Honour dearer is."

Or,

"He whose heart is filled with good will towards his kind,
A happy man is he; he has an Empire in his heart."

Or, --

"Until his vengeance he has wrought upon his foe,
Neither sleep, nor food, nor rest knows a true man."

Or,—

"I said: If I come to thee, wilt thou greet me with a kiss?
Said she: Hast thou a thousand heads that thou askest this of me?"

What a pity that Khush Hal Khan's last living lineal descendant should have had to be executed by us some years ago, and, what is felt as a still worse insult to the race of the poet, that the title of Khan of the Khataks should have passed to an heir of inferior descent!

"Arabic Authors." A Manual of Arabian History and Literature, by F. F. Arbuthnot. (London: William Heinemann, 1890.)

It is a compliment to the author to say that his work contains nothing new or original, for in these days of the conversion of "Arab elegies" into "Persian plays," it is a comfort to find a compiler of facts who arranges so simply and yet so carefully as Mr. Arbuthnot has done those of Arabian history and literature. It is only in his preface that he is original. He speaks of the Swedish Oriental Congress in 1889 as if that gathering had collected more nationalities than any of the previous Congresses, whereas there were quite as many (twenty-eight) at Vienna and more (fifty-two) at Paris in 1874. Indeed, the late Congress would thus mark a distinct decline in public interest in Oriental matters. Again, he speaks of "the Lectures on Modern Oriental Languages established by the Imperial Institute of the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and India, in union with University College and King's

College, London, *is* (*sic*) full of promise," when that small, though much-puffed school has, we believe, fallen from twenty students in its first term to seven in the last term, most of whom take up only one Oriental language or subject; whereas the modest "Oriental Section" of King's College alone had twenty-two students in 1864, taking up, as a rule, four subjects each. So here, there would be another instance of decline. Then the cessation of the Oriental Translation Fund in connexion with the Royal Asiatic Society, not to speak of the quality of many of the papers read before it, would be a third proof of the decline of Oriental studies in this country, due to the success of the counter-movement of anglicizing the East and of converting good Orientals into pseudo-Englishmen. Mr. Arbuthnot's own scheme to raise a fund for the translation of Oriental books (of An-Nádim's "Fihrist" to start with) has our warmest sympathy and support, but we think that the prices to be charged are too high. We should recommend, instead, a half-a-crown series of Oriental authors or selections, if they are to be popularised at all. Mr. Arbuthnot finally thanks "the many authors whose words have been freely used and quoted, and also Mr. E. Rehatsek, of Bombay," whose knowledge of the Arabic language and literature is, indeed, great. Mr. Arbuthnot begins his work with a historical sketch of Arabia, then gives an account of the rise and ramifications of Arabian literature and science, arranged according to subjects just as dynasties had been arranged for in the historical part, and dwells on the life of Muhammad, for whose Unitarian basis of belief, common to Judaism and Christianity, Mr. Arbuthnot has much respect, although he repeats the libels regarding Muhammad's relations with Zainab and other women. Mr. Arbuthnot's remarks about Buddhism are somewhat irrelevant, and he also distinctly takes the side of the Sunnis in their controversy with Shiahs. At the same time, his observations and the numerous anecdotes of Arabian celebrities are very in-

teresting, and enliven the study of a book the utility of which is unquestionably great. A.

"The Moment After." A Tale of the Unseen. By Robert Buchanan (London: William Heinemann, 1890).

This is an artistically constructed story of a crime and of the sensations of the criminal "the moment after" he was hanged, or twice half hanged, or lost consciousness or recovered it again. The poor wretch, whom jealousy had driven to murder his wife and her paramour, was a quiet and inoffensive man, who read much and who professed atheism up to the moment of his death—to the apparent satisfaction of the scientific doctor and the despair of the earnest-minded chaplain—but who "the moment after" his strangulation, as appeared from his subsequent confession, obtained glimpses of the Unseen and was converted to the belief in a Deity and that his punishment, for which he was now anxious, was expiatory of his sin. This change of conviction edified the chaplain and convinced the doctor of the insanity of the prisoner, who died shortly after the great shock that his nerves had sustained. The anomaly of a political Home Secretary having power to put aside a jury's recommendation to mercy is well brought out, and there is much that is suggestive in Mr. Buchanan's book; but there is one point which we think highly characteristic of the writer for of the public for which he writes. It is this. No Italian, as the criminal was, Spaniard, Arab, or even Frenchman or German, would feel the remorse of Maurizio Modena for killing a faithless wife and friend, even if he were converted by the ministrations of a Protestant minister. Nor would members of these nations look upon Modena as the very worst of criminals, a view taken by the author, his surgeon, and his chaplain. This is a most important contribution, though not intended, to the "study of manners" of nations at the end of the nineteenth century. The most chivalrous Arab would be proud of the deed, so would his representa-

tive in many respects, the Spaniard; the Italian would take it as a matter of course, and the German or Frenchman might consider it to be a discharge of duty. Where, however, conjugal fidelity is of less account than among Arabs, Spaniards, or Italians, where the perfidy of friends is of more common occurrence, and where ideas of personal honour have become weak, there, indeed, the murder of an adulteress and of her partner, especially if at all premeditated, as in this case, would, indeed, be the most heinous of crimes. Would Mr. Buchanan wish us to believe that there is greater indifference in England than elsewhere to family honour? C.

Macmillan's Geographical Series: An elementary Geography of India, Burma and Ceylon. By Henry F. Blandford, F.R.S., late Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. (London: Macmillan & Co.)

Mr. Blandford has produced an admirable elementary work. The style is elegant, simple, concise, and vivid. It is an epitome of the Indian Empire, its government and provinces, as well as of its foreign possessions and frontier states. Each subject is arranged under leading heads, such as the geographical position, and its influences on the history, habits and industries of the people, its outer form, size and boundaries, a description of the general surface of each province, the climates, plants and animals, population, languages, religions and castes, as also the internal communications with the respective provinces. The work is enlivened with twenty-seven illustrations, well executed, clear, interesting and instructive. It will be useful to all who desire to obtain, in a small compass, a bird's-eye view of India, the relations of England to this great continent, the vast commerce which is constantly increasing between it and Great Britain and the colonies, and the peace, industry, and security of the natives, guaranteed by the strong arm of Great Britain. B.

Tavernier's Travels in India, with Biographical Sketch by N. Ball, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Director of the Science and Art Museum, Dublin. 2 *vols.* (*London: Macmillan & Co.*)

"Tavernier's Travels" have passed through not fewer than twenty-three French editions, including shorter publications and memoirs, from the date of the first work in 1675 to 1882, and through nine editions in English, down to 1811, several in German, one in Dutch, and one in Italian. The present English edition is a translation of the best edition published in 1676, and has the advantage above all previous English editions of being edited by an eminent scholar, whose long experience of travelling in India, in the discharge of his duty in connection with the Geological Survey, has fitted him to identify the various routes and places visited by Tavernier, especially the sites of the diamond mines, which were for a long time supposed by authors to be beyond the reach of identification. The work is also enriched with valuable notes and appendices bearing on philology and history. Tavernier began his travels at the early age of 15. In five years he had seen parts of France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary, and Italy, and had acquired a fair knowledge of the most useful European languages. He had come in contact with emperors, kings, ambassadors, and soldiers; and from his innate thirst for travel, the experience of European cities and kingdoms fitted him admirably for his journeys in Asia, Persia, and India. On his first journey, he left Constantinople for Ispahan in the beginning of 1631. During the next forty years he made five additional journeys, by different land routes, and thus had time to observe the nature of the country well and the genius of the populations. He says: "I have pushed the three last of my journeys beyond the Ganges, and to the island of Java, and have traversed more than 60,000 leagues by land, only having once returned from Asia to Europe by sea. Thus I have seen at my

leisure, in my six journeys and by different routes, the whole of Turkey, all Persia, and all India, and especially the famous mines of diamonds, where no European had been before me." The author concludes by telling his countrymen that "of these three grand empires I propose to give a full and exact account."

After the lapse of two hundred years, Dr. Ball, from his practical knowledge and personal survey of the tracts of country in India through which Tavernier travelled, gives and confidently expects the public will give, a liberal and hearty confirmation to the peculiar and unrivalled merits of this merchant traveller, who, above all others, brought to the knowledge of Europe the inexhaustible wealth of India, and the vast importance of Western nations establishing commercial relations with the teeming populations of the East. This work, with its maps, excellent index and glossary, with its accounts of pearls, rubies, topazes, diamonds, and specially of the Koh-i-nur, will give a fresh zest to all who desire to develop native industries in their own home, fitted for their own and foreign markets, as well as to those who are taking a growing interest in the languages, customs, religions, and history of the East. We trust to be able to continue in our next issue the discussion of a work which reflects the very greatest credit on its editor and its spirited publishers. B.

Frays and Forays. Sketches in Peace and War. By Captain G. J. Younghusband, the Queen's own Corps of Guides. (London: Percival & Co., King St., Covent Garden.)

Captain Younghusband's description of some of the incidents of the defence of the Kabul Residency is short and picturesque. He is a shrewd observer of what he hears and sees in the mess-room, in and without the camp, and the hairbreadth escapes of our spies among hostile borderers. The Guides, the Bengal Lancers, the Goorkas, soldiering

in the Soudan, and Indian sport, all come under his facile pen. His amusing stories, dry bits of humour, and sapient hints to young subalterns going out to India, will be read with hearty relish, amusement, and gratitude. B.

The Imperial Parliament Series. Edited by Sydney Buxton, M.P. (*London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.*)

In view of the next general election of representatives to the British Parliament, a valuable and interesting series of publications has been issued in a convenient form, and at a cheap rate, dealing with certain social questions, some of which have been under discussion for many years, and are now considered to be within the range of practical politics. As the ultimate appeal for settling such questions must lie with the electors on the registers and in the polling-booths, it is of great importance to all who take an interest in the proper solution of these matters, that there should be concentrated into one focus the arguments and opinions which are scattered in speeches, on the platform, or in the House of Commons, or in discussions in the public press. Hence the present series has been constructed so as to form a permanent handbook on the various subjects in which the various authors respectively take an interest. The subjects are: *Imperial Federation*, by the Marquis of Lorne. *England and Russia in Asia*, by the late Right Hon. W. E. Baxter. *Women's Suffrages*, by Mrs. Ashton Dilke and Mr. William Woodall, M.P. *Local Option*, on the sale of excisable liquors, by Mr. Caine, ex-M.P., Mr. William Hoyle, and Rev. Dr. Dawson Burns. *Church Reform*, by Mr. Albert Grey, late M.P., Canon Fremantle, and others. The *Disestablishment of the Church*, by the late H. Richard, M.P., and Mr. Carvell Williams. *The Reform of the Government of London and of City Guilds*, by the late Mr. Firth, M.P. *Local Administration*, by Mr. Rathbone, M.P., Mr. Albert Pell, and Mr. F. C. Montague. *Representation of the People*, by Sir John Lubbock, M.P. *Land Reform*, by the Right Hon. G. J. Shaw-

Lefevre, M.P. *Leasehold Enfranchisement*, by Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., and Mr. R. T. Reid, M.P. *Reform of the House of Lords*, by J. Bryce, M.P. Each of these volumes does not exceed 1*s.* in price, and deserves to be carefully perused by all sections of politicians in England. B.

Applied Geography: A Preliminary Sketch, with eleven Maps and Diagrams. By J. Scott Keltie, Librarian to the Royal Geographical Society, Editor of The Statesman's Year Book. (London: George Philip & Son, 32, Fleet Street. Liverpool: 51, *South Castle Street.)*

The Editor of such a work as *The Statesman's Year Book* is well qualified to produce a volume which will prove valuable to those engaged in industry, commerce, and colonization. The first portions of the book give general *data*, which are illustrated in subsequent chapters with special reference to Africa, the British Empire, India, and the Colonies. The maps and diagrams are exceedingly well executed. The trade of the British Empire is shown by a diagram to be about one-half of all the other civilized countries of the world put together. That of all the latter is £2,400 millions, that of the British Empire is £1,200 millions, while the trade of the United Kingdom is £740 millions, the British Colonies £450 millions. The trade of the Colonies with the United Kingdom is £180 millions; with India, £170 millions, of our tropical Colonies, £100 millions, and of our temperate Colonies, £180 millions; so that the geographical conditions of the bulk of the Empire are such as to adapt themselves to a British-born population and to those continental peoples most nearly allied to us. Mr. Keltie clearly points out, that in this respect we are more fortunate in our Colonial Empire than either France, Germany, Portugal, or Spain. "If we have every year a surplus population that cannot make a decent living in our overcrowded country, they have only to go to another

corner of our great estate, and they will find all they want." The maps, showing the distribution of vegetation of the world, and of coal, iron, gold, and other minerals, are specially instructive and important. B.

Home Life on an Ostrich Farm, with Ten Illustrations. By Annie Martin. (London: George Philip & Son, 32, Fleet Street. Liverpool: 45 to 51, South Castle Street.)

In a bright and lively style the author gives a vivid description of country life in South Africa. In her description of Port Elizabeth, she speaks of the Malays, who have immigrated thither, as follows: "Their bright coloured Eastern dresses and the monotonous chant of the priest announcing the hours of prayer from the minaret of the mosque form a pleasing contrast to the surrounding every-day sights and sounds. Like most other Orientals, they are perfect artists in their appreciation of colour; and fortunately, they are still old-fashioned enough not yet to have adopted the hideous coal-tar dyes with which Europe has demoralized the taste of some of their brethren in Cairo and Algiers." The work contains various illustrations and picturesque descriptions of the Dutch mode of building their houses, the ostrich farms, their management and successes, as well as the various birds, insects, reptiles, and plants of the country. The climate seems excellent. Even consumption is defeated by the atmosphere of Karroo, as well as other fatal illnesses. The common assertion is "No one is ever ill here!" The work contains sparkling incidents, and will be read with pleasure, interest, and instruction. B.

The Labour Movement in America, by Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., Associate in Political Economy, Johns Hopkins University, U.S. (London: W. Heinemann.)

Just as Professor Bryce has so well written on the Constitutional History of the United States of America, so

Professor Ely has equally well performed his task in regard to the history of the relation of Capital to Labour in the United States. The subject is of supreme importance to England, to our Colonies and Eastern Dependencies at the present time, when all sorts of socialistic theories are advocated by unscrupulous agitators among the working classes. Like the able old-school publicists of America, the author has carefully collected, from various sources, important facts regarding the various organized industrial communities in the States, and has laid down very sound principles for the guidance of Capitalists, and the leaders of Labour in its various forms and organizations. The study of the work is fitted to check the extremes of both sides, and to show that Labour and Capital must work hand-in-hand for mutual advantage. The acumen of the author may be seen in the following definition of what labour really is. He says: "While Labour is a commodity, it is an expenditure of human force which involves the welfare of a personality. It is a commodity which is inseparably bound up with the labourer, and in this, it differs from other commodities. The one who offers other commodities for sale reserves his own person. The farmer who parts with a thousand bushels of wheat for money, reserves control of his own actions. They are not brought in question at all." "The labourer however has, as a rule, only the service residing in his own person with which to sustain himself and his family." Hence the author correctly reasons, and exposes the popular fallacy, that labour is a mere commodity, and that "there are peculiarities about it which distinguish it from other commodities, and that most radically." In the same way he points out the rights and duties of the possessors of capital, and gives a serious warning to all civilized nations, to preserve the just equilibrium of Capital and Labour. B.

SHORT NOTICES.

WE acknowledge with thanks the receipt from Messrs. Macmillan & Co. of "The Golden Bough: a Study in Comparative Religion," by J. G. Frazer, M.A., which we reserve for our next Philological Summary.

Among the series of "Heinemann's Scientific Handbooks," that enterprising publisher has sent us Arthur L. Kimball's "The Physical Properties of Gases," and Brown and Griffiths' "Manual of Assaying Gold, Silver, Copper, and Lead Ores."

A very valuable work on "The Development of Africa," by Arthur Silva White, the able Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, has been published by Messrs. George Philip & Son, of 32, Fleet Street. It is illustrated with a set of fourteen maps, specially designed by the eminent geographer, Mr. E. G. Ravenstein. We trust that we shall be able to review the book in our April number, and we only regret that it reached us too late for this issue, but we entirely agree with its author, that "the African question is one of the Colonial problems of next century," the solution of which must be mainly sought in its geography and climate.

"The Life of Henrik Ibsen," by Henrik Jaeger (Translated by Clara Bell, with the verse done into English from the Norwegian original by Edmund Gosse), has been published by Mr. Heinemann, the number and variety of whose publications is as great as the talent which guides their selection. Ibsen's plays, regarding which such a whirlwind of controversy has raged, are described as follows: "He has constructed a new dramatic formula, answering to the materialistic element in novel writing.

Its peculiarity is that . . . it has its beginning where ordinary plays usually end. All Ibsen's later works are in fact amplified catastrophes. . . . If an ordinary dramatist had written "A Doll's House," Nora's forgery would have formed the crisis of the piece, and the crime would have been revealed in the last act. Ibsen, on the contrary, takes these crimes for his leading theme; the deed has been done before the curtain rises. . . . His analytical method of construction is allied to the old Greek tragedy as Sophocles composed it, and as Schiller tried to reproduce in Maria Stuart. . . . The dialogue has grown more natural, . . . each speaker has his own manner. . . ." No wonder that young writers are rallying round Ibsen against the old school of German dramatic poetry, for he is more appreciated in Germany than in Norway, but "the public do not feel easy face to face with this stern judge; his work has something uncanny in it, and his tremendous tragic muse terrifies them." As Ibsen is alive, we prefer to notice his works rather than his biography so far, and we look forward with interest to the new drama which he is about to issue, and of which, we learn, "an English version will be published by Mr. Heinemann, in London, on the day that the original appears in Copenhagen."

Mr. L. M. Simmons, the learned lecturer on Hebrew and Arabic at the Owen's College, Manchester, has edited "The Letter of Consolation of Maimun ben Joseph," from the unique Bodleian Arabic manuscript, and has translated it into English. The treatise is followed by an appendix, consisting of those passages in which Maimun is quoted by Abraham Maimonides in his commentary on Genesis and Exodus, as preserved in the unique Bodleian manuscript. We hope that this remarkable treatise will be noticed as it deserves; in the meanwhile we quote from Mr. Simmons' preface the following characteristic passage:

"One point is striking in the reading of the letter: it is the very strong influence which Moslem phrases exercised

upon Jewish theology. Maimun's perpetual insisting upon belief in God and his Apostle, and in that with which he was sent down, seems almost like an echo from the *Qur'an.* Abraham is called without hesitation the Mahdi of God, and perhaps the great stress which is laid upon the greatness of Moses may be intended as a set-off to the greatness of Mohammed. At least this is clear, that there is much greater affinity theologically between the parent and the younger daughter religion than between the parent and its elder daughter. Imagine a Jew in Russia writing to his persecuted brethren and using terms identical with those of Christian theology."

Among Macmillan & Co.' "History Primers," that of the well-known J. Talboys Wheeler on "Indian History, Asiatic and European," holds a deserved position. It is useful, and answers its purpose. It is therefore a matter of regret, that he should presuppose in his readers such a knowledge of the Vedas and of the Caste system as to be able to criticize the opening sentence of his little work, which he concludes with the sad words, "non-regulation is passing away for ever." Why also refer to "movements at work beneath the surface, which are carrying India into an unknown future"? This oracular sentence does not explain itself, and is of general application. "A succession of royal visits have confirmed her people in their loyalty to the British Crown." We hope so, but shall not include in it the visit of the Czarewitch. Then, too, as regards Lord Dufferin, we doubt that "he settled the vexed frontier question which had been raised by Russia," as regards Afghanistan, in any sense favourable to us or to our ally. Nor is it the case, as implied, that Yakub Khan, after welcoming Cavagnari, and providing quarters for him, treacherously caused him to be "environed," "overpowered and slaughtered." We know that nothing is so fallacious as history, except statistics; but we cannot approve, much as we respect Mr. Talboys Wheeler, of the introduction of debatable matter into a "primer."

We have received a file of the admirable "liberal" German weekly, *The Nation, Die Nation,* published at Berlin, and edited by Dr. Th. Barth. The articles on "Little Mother's Jews" are specially valuable at this moment. They contain a very accurate, if appalling, history of the persecution of that race by Russia, which is called by the endearing term of "Matrushka," or "little mother." *The Nation* contains most valuable contributions by writers of great authority; and as so many Englishmen are interested in German literature and in German thought, on current as also on past events, we strongly recommend this thesaurus of information to their attention.

The last number of *Al Haqáiq,* the Arabic quarterly review, which is published under the auspices of the Oriental Institute at Woking, and is edited by Syed Ali Bilgrami, B.A., Assoc. R.S.M., F.G.S., M.R.A.S., and by Moulvi Mohammed Abdul Jabbár Khan, contains the following contents: "On the Different Kinds of Food used by the Arabs," a most useful contribution by Moulvi Abdul Jabbár. "The Philosophy of Arabic Lexicography," a treatise of great merit on the onomatopoietic element in Arabic, is concluded by Syed Karâmat Hossain. The translation of the Story of Rasselas into Arabic is continued by Syed Ali Bilgrami. "The Life of Al Fárâbi, from the Târikh ul Hukama," and notices of new books, by Syed Ali Bilgrami, conclude this valuable number of the Review, which deserves the support of all Orientalists and others interested in Arabic.

The last number of the *Sanscrit Critical Journal,* after a short explanation of its late appearance, gives an account of the life, labour, and lamented death of the able scholar and philanthropist, Pandit Navina Chandra Rai. Although representing the new school of Indian thought, he had the greatest respect for, and knowledge of, ancient Indian literature; and, as Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Punjab, Member of Senate of the Punjab University, and Professor of the Lahore Oriental College, he did his utmost to promote the study of Sanscrit and of Hindi, his

favourite tongue, in which he published a series of elementary and other books on science, literature, and the Brahmo creed, to which he was sincerely attached. A gentle, but independent, man, there are few like him in any country, and his death will be felt as a loss both by his friends and his opponents. The *Sanscrit Journal* then goes on with the translation of "Hamlet" into Sanscrit, and discusses at greater length than elsewhere in this review the shortcomings in Sanscrit of Professor Max Müller in his brief poem, "The Matsya Suktam," a *jeu d'esprit* — or folly — laudatory of the salmon.

The learned editor, Pandit Rikhi Kesh Shastri, then proceeds with the Vyavastharnabasara, and with the Nitisataka of Bhartrihari.

PHILOLOGY AND PRACTICAL LINGUISTICS.

SENSE, COUNTER-SENSE, AND DOUBLE SENSE; OR, WORDS, LIKE DREAMS, GO BY "CONTRARIES."

ONE of the linguistic discoveries by Professor Carl Abel, who has recently returned to Germany after a short visit to this country, begins to attract deserved attention. Words were always held to be useful in concealing one's meaning; but Professor Abel was the first to show that words originally, as a matter of fact, meant one thing and its very opposite at one and the same time. Thus the "sense" or meaning of a word could not be felt except by a vivid representation of its opposite meaning or "countersense"—a term which, in its German form of *Gegensinn*, characterizes Professor Abel's school of language. The "double sense" of words has long been familiar to us in artificial language, and so has the "nonsense" of ascribing linguistic phenomena rather to solar myths than to the associations of a race speaking a particular language. We wish, however, rather to illustrate the meaning of Professor Abel's "countersense" than attack any school of philology that may ignore practical linguistics.

Suppose a young gentleman sauntering down Rotten Row were to quietly inform a blushing beauty that he considered her to be exceedingly plain, a sarcastic smile doubting the accuracy of his visual organs would be the deserved reply. Or if a benighted foreigner on his arrival in Yankeeland were to give it as his deliberate opinion, that he thought the inhabitants a somewhat stationary and unprogressive fraction of mankind, the sanity of his intellect would very likely be called into question by his amused interlocutors. And yet had these absurd little incidents occurred several thousand years ago, at the primitive period when man was still busy creating language, they would have appeared the most natural and rational every day events. For in those extraordinary days the word "plain," as addressed to the blushing young beauty, would have signified "pretty" as well; the word "stationary," applied to the primeval Yankee, might have been taken as a flattering compliment, importing "highly enlightened and progressive," the selection between the two opposite meanings in each individual instance being mainly left to the speakers. And so with every verb and adjective, in fine, with every word denoting quality in the dictionary. The thing seems too incredible to be true. But even in philology facts are facts. As Professor Abel has proved from hieroglyphics and, by the light of hieroglyphics, from our own modern and cultivated languages too, the practice of using words with contrary meanings at one time prevailed in all the various idioms included in the three great families of Ham, Sem, and Japhet. This extraordinary discovery has since been verified in the American tongues by Professor

Brinton, of Philadelphia, the famous explorer of (Red) Indian antiquities. Africa having supplied her quota of examples as well, we are face to face with a linguistic marvel of world-wide occurrence.

How, then, are we to account for this extraordinary confusion? and what were the means employed to counteract its bewildering effect? If primitive man did not, as indeed he could not, refer to the two opposite meanings at once, why indulge in such ambiguous phraseology at all? And having indulged in it, how did he wriggle out of the difficulty so wantonly created by himself, and render himself intelligible to his equally perverse neighbour? On a little reflection a sufficient answer to these questions suggests itself easily enough. Notions are generated in pairs. You cannot imagine darkness without distinguishing it from light. To enable you to conceive the notion of night, you have to separate it from the notion of day. In other words, the two notions of light and darkness, of day and night, require to arise in your brain simultaneously, to arise and be there at all. Mental philosophy has always been cognisant of the fact: we now know language to have strictly followed the method pursued by the intellect. If the human mind could not discover any quality except through and in common with its opposite, neither could language express it except by a term embodying the two halves of the composite notion at once.

Egyptian hiero[illegible]le meanings plainly discernible. In writing, words were accompanied by pictures showing the sense [illegible] were to be taken in in a particular passage; in speech, accompanying vignettes were replaced by gesture. Thus, in ancient Egyptian, the word *ak*, for instance, when designating "to ascend," is followed by the drawing of a staircase, while, when it is to signify "to get down," "to be down," it is accompanied by the picture of a tumbling wall. Similarly "*nchek*," when meaning "child," is explained by the attendant sketch of an infant, while, if the term is to be understood as "old man," is replaced by a tottering old gent. And so forth. As in writing, so in speech. If a man said "*kef*," meaning "to take" and "to reject," nothing could be more simple than to discriminate between the two opposite significations by indicative movements of the hand. Or if he said "*tua*," purporting "to honour" as well as "to despise," he might bow in the first instance and turn away in the second. It is easily understood, that words, having once been created in this, the only way they could have been created, the two halves of a notion were subsequently embodied each in a special phonetic variety of the common term. As a time came when notions were sufficiently realized without allusion to opposites, the necessity for keeping the two halves present in a single term subsided, and separate terms could be conveniently resorted to for each individual half. Then language in the modern sense of the term appeared.

In this transition from primitive unavoidable obscurity to our modern lucid speech, we trace as in a mirror the progress of the human race from the infantine to the cultivated state. With the wondering savage uttering the word light for both light and night, compare the dictionary of Shakespeare and Milton, and you will realize the stride made by humanity since its first appearance on the globe.

ETHNOGRAPHY.

Dr. Brinton's "Races and Peoples" (New York, 1890), is an independent contribution of no ordinary merit towards anthropological literature. In it Dr. Brinton treats systematically of the origin and primitive history of man, of the differentiation of races, and the physical and psychical elements which combined to produce the result before us. Having witnessed the primary development of mankind as a rather uniform whole, we are shown how the race broke up into sectional divisions, and what became of each in the course of years.

Nor will Dr. Brinton's chapters on the creation and spread of man be less attractive to the startled reader. Dr. Brinton adheres to the new, and, in these latter days, pretty generally accepted theory of man's creation in Africa. He searches for the origin of mankind in the region producing the highest species of ape, and finds the palæological Dryopithesus in Spain, and his modern tailless successors in Africa, countries formerly forming one continuous continent. Having thus demonstrated the probability of meeting primitive man in the same locality, he burrows in the ground, and in an area extending from the southern Atlas to Spain, France, England, Switzerland, and Upper Italy, excavates the oldest stone weapons and implements of our ancestors, such as have not been discovered in any other part of the globe. The highest species of mammal, and the lowest of man, once fixed in the same locality, our investigator points to the sub-tropical climate of the favoured region in the early quaternary period, affording the requisite conditions for the stay and development of the helpless savage. When the hippopotamus bathed in the Thames, and the elephant wallowed in the Garonne, the new comer no doubt must have found it more easy to make himself comfortable in the scene of his early youth than would be the case were he to make his *début* in the modern conditions somewhere between London Bridge and the glaring sands of Bordeaux. Dr. Brinton amplifies his argument by showing Egypt to be the home of the oldest civilization, while adjoining Negrilloes remain to this day on the lowest ring of the human ladder; the one attaining the highest development where all development began, and in a gifted race consequently must have outstripped others; the other perpetuating aboriginal barbarism, where barbarism was worst at the outset, and in an inferior tribe accordingly remained so *ad infinitum*. In the light of these inquiries the Hebrew myth of an Asiatic origin of mankind is finally shown to be at variance with the geological, anthropological, and historical aspects of the case. Opposed to the accepted results of modern consistent science,

as it is, the Asiatic nativity story is, indeed, proved to reflect comparatively recent traditions—traditions which did not extend beyond the time when early migrations had taken a portion of the race from Africa to Chaldea and the Armenian hills. Dr. Brinton smiles at Professor Max Müller repeating the Asiatic highlands fable in the teeth of modern finds and their recognised output.

As may be inferred from his handling the Egyptian side by side with the Negrillo, our author assumes the white man to have arisen in the same province which saw the birth of the entire species. The oldest stone weapons of the human race being found along with the skulls of white men in Switzerland, and, indeed, the entire area of aboriginal implements, it is necessarily concluded that the people who used them had by that time assumed their actual physical traits. The most recent researches in the pile dwellings of Helvetian lakes and the plain of the Po, show that the same people inhabited them from the classic period of Greece to far back in the stone age. The most ancient shell heaps or kitchen middens on the shores of Portugal contain skulls of the peculiar type of the Basques of to-day. To strengthen these remarkable facts, the Berber, in the Atlas valley, who had easy access to Spain, France, and Switzerland, before the Mediterranean arose, is frequently fair, blonde, and tall, like the best Germanic types, just as the Egyptian has been latterly acknowledged a "Caucasian" (as the white race is erroneously called) *pur sang*. Still, if all this confirms the unity of the race in the two adjoining continents, it would seem to raise sundry contingent questions. If the oldest culture that can be traced is the culture of white men, are we to assume that the black man had no contemporary culture at all in those early days? And if so, does not this tend to weaken the force of the implement argument as affecting the possible area of human nativity?

However this may be, Dr. Brinton has another strong criterion to allege in favour of that part of his reasoning, which deals with the ancient continental identity of "Eurafrica," as he terms Europe and Africa in their original connections. There is the startling fact of the linguistic affinity between Egyptian and the other North African languages on the one hand, and Egyptian and Aryan and Semitic stocks on the other hand. The tie between Egyptian and Semitic is patent, though it remains to be investigated in detail. Africa being thus indissolubly connected with Europe and Asia, the linguistic bridge constructed will no doubt aid greatly in carrying the weight of the heavy ethnographic discussion going on between the three continents. If, as Dr. Abel has made out, Egyptian is not only essentially the same as Aryan, but preserves a more primitive stage of development formerly displayed by all members of the extensive family, the certainty of Africans being related to Europeans and Asiatics is established, and the probability of the Aryans being migratory and the Egyptians stationary increased on the strongest linguistic grounds.

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

The following is one of the lectures delivered in connection with the above Congress by Professor Carl Abel on "The Psychology of Language" at the German Athenæum on Wednesday, the 22nd of October, 1890.

The Psychology of Language.

SYLLABUS.

Words express views taken by nations. Views taken of the same subject by different nations frequently differing from each other, the significations of words used for their embodiment cannot but differ likewise.

Hence the more permanent notions of a race, as deposited in individual words, may be accurately discerned by inquiring into the exact meanings of words.

In the course of this inquiry words apparently expressive of the same thing in two or more languages, will, as a rule, be discovered to be more or less separated by characteristic distinctions of meaning, according to the views taken by the various races contrasted.

Exemplifying analysis of some English, French, and German words, referring to the intellectual faculties.

Geist, esprit, spirit. Gemüth.

Vernunft, reason, raison.

Verstand, understanding, sense, entendement.

Language being a reflex of the human mind, uttered by the voice, all its phenomena more or less partake of an intellectual character, and, accordingly, belong to the domain of psychology. If even phonetic changes—apparently mechanic—are many of them influenced by intellectual agencies, the supremacy of the mind is necessarily absolute in all that concerns the significations of individual words and their connection in the sentence. Connection, it is well known, is effected in accordance with grammatical rules—rules which form the primary and, in many instances, the only subject of linguistic study, because, being different in different languages, they have to be acquired before a single sentence can be formed or understood. As regards significations, their knowledge is generally derived from the dictionary, and from practical acquaintance with the way words are used in conversation and in print. There seems to be no need of systematic study in this particular direction. For as words seemingly

express the same things and thoughts all over the world, what else in learning a new language is to be acquired than a number of new sounds for old ideas? In acquainting themselves with a new language, say, with German, few Englishmen at first realize any difference of signification between the words of their own vernacular and those of the sister-tongue; nor would there be many Germans who, in the incipient stages of their English accomplishment, would be likely to distinguish between the words of Fatherland and the terms of Anglo-Saxony, except as far as they differ in sound. If we know that box is rendered by Buchse, mother by Mutter, and ink by Tinte, what else remains there to be ascertained in connection with these vocables, whether by Englishman or Teuton? The three words named refer to familiar objects abounding in our daily life, where mothers are numerous, ink, printer's ink and inkstand ink, is rightfully abundant, and boxes of every description and degree are likewise apt to be obtrusively frequent, especially about Christmas. Facts being accordingly identical in both countries, what else can words do, but express them in sounds? sounds which, however they may vary in the two tongues, yet cannot help embodying the same idea in both.

But the inference drawn from our examples is only correct as long as we keep to words signifying everyday objects, qualities, and activities around us. And not even then always. No doubt a great many material things have been always more or less alike in the neighbouring and cognate countries of Germany and England; no doubt others have gradually become so by the levelling influence of civilization; no doubt, the things being the same, and the uses to which they are put the same, the qualities they possess, and the actions performed by or through them, have frequently been similar, if not identical. In this way, not only the words mentioned, but even abstract terms, such as long, broad, short, or verbs like to go, to sit, to leap, to run, mostly correspond in both languages in what they convey.

But the restrictive "mostly," which qualifies the seeming similarity of material objects, applies still more strongly to the assumed identity of their qualities and actions. Though the most commonplace things are no doubt the same in both countries, and their general designations pretty nearly identical in both languages, yet directly you enter upon detail, you will encounter profuse diversities in both respects. What is more easily distinguished than a pail and a bucket? Yet, as the Germans generally use only one word for both articles, it follows that neither the one nor the other of the two English words is accurately rendered by the German term. Conversely, no German is likely to confound Schwert and Degen, while an Englishman, as a rule, contents himself with calling both "a sword." If you extend these comparisons from material objects to their qualities and uses, the list of diversities will rapidly increase. "Small" in English refers to an absolute measure of size, while "little" implies a personal estimate, more or less dependent upon the arbitrary valuation of the measuring person. Again, the two German words "klein" and "geringfügig" might be pronounced to display an analogous disparity, if

the personal element, so strong in "geringfügig" were not likewise observable in "klein," and if "geringfügig" did not go the length of expressing "slender," "tiny," and "minute," rather than "little."

The last German example, by the way, gives a good illustration of the complex nature of significations, frequently including, as they do, several qualities and a judgment passed upon them in a single concept. The English term "slight," for instance, implies rather little as well as rather thin, and not very firm, and not very formidable, and so on; "big" is bulky and strong, without much regard to shape and grace, etc. The human mind, being impressed by things as a whole, is naturally inclined to conceive some of their qualities as belonging together, and to produce significations, the constituent parts of which are, even if not different in themselves, differently mixed in different languages.

Well, if there is so little uniformity in the way the English and German languages are wont to look upon such commonplace things as pails, buckets, and swords, or upon such ordinary attributes as little and small, we shall not be surprised to discover more notable contrasts in regard to immaterial things, to thoughts, feelings, and the inner and spiritual world generally. Naturally, as, from what we have been discussing, the inference is forced upon us that words express the views taken by nations, significations must display the strongest contrasts in that sphere in which there is the greatest variety of views. If there are two ways in looking upon buckets, there must be many more in estimating virtue, resolve, and faith; and every one of these permanent national estimates being embodied in one or several words, what their significations contain is the nation's verdict upon the notions conceived. Hence, there is more in significations than appears at first sight. There is often a deeper difference between words seemingly conveying the same idea in two languages than a mere diversity of sound. There is often in their disparity all the antithesis obtaining between more or less opposite opinions on one and the same subject. It takes a long time and great conversational or literary familiarity with a foreign tongue to acquaint oneself with these inner secrets by practical use; but it is a comparatively easy and highly profitable task to enter on the deliberate and systematic study of significations, and thus acquire an accurate and conscious knowledge of what, in the way of the practical method, can only be instinctively felt and intuitively acquired. This remark applies with peculiar force to what we know of our own tongue — a tongue, which, as we all remember, we have been acquiring by an eminently practical method from the first enchanting nursery tale we listened to down to the last theorizing lecture we were rash enough to attend. It follows, that if we are at all desirous to convert our intuitive appreciation of our own linguistic notions into intelligent insight, the only means by which this boon can be secured is to gauge them by the popular and permanent notions; *i.e.* the word-meanings of other races. Only in studying foreign significations, we fully discern our own. Let us try and exemplify our thesis. Or rather, let us illustrate the conclusion we have already incidentally drawn by some more methodical cases in point.

There is such a word in the English language as soul, represented in German by seele, in French by âme. By a remarkable and,—as civilized humanity fortunately agrees on main points,—by a most gratifying coincidence, the three fundamental words convey pretty much the same meaning. Soul, seele, âme, equally designate the intellectual principle in its totality—the principle, which includes thought, feeling, will, and the dark background from which they arise. Thought, feeling, and will constantly engendering and permeating each other and producing ever new unforeseen results. Where was that idea of mine the instant before it leapt into consciousness, and what did I know of my power to produce it? Had it been a mere logical inference, deduced from acquired facts, I might have attributed it to the regular operation of the intellect; and, though marvellous enough even then, should have classed it with the habitual performances of the human mind. But if there was in it an entirely novel combination of facts, if fancy combined with sagacity and both were propelled by volition tinged with sentiment, how could I account for it except by reference to the mysterious well, silently flowing in my own inner self and rushing up from time to time without visible aid or control? As the poet has it,—

> "Kein Dichter h[illegible] Tiefste[illegible]
> Kein Maler je s[illegible] [illegible]es h[illegible]
> Tief liegt es in [illegible] [illegible]ie D[illegible]
> [illegible] [illegible]ahl erhellt."

There is, then, a consensus gentium between England, Germany, and France as to the dark and self-acting nature of the spiritual element in its totality within us. As I said, civilized nations have at last come to agree on main points.

It is different though, if, dividing the soul into its various capacities, we endeavour to mark out the proper sphere of each. Geist, esprit, and spirit indeed concur in that part of their comprehensive signification which approaches closely the meaning of soul, Seele, âme; the difference mainly consisting in soul, emphasizing the capacity rather than its application, while spirit and its foreign kindred do the reverse. But the moment this capacity, which they all equally recognise, begins to enter on the sphere of action, the genius of each nation profits by the opportunity for the display of its own peculiar calibre and taste. The German Geist discovers the more delicate features, resemblances and dissemblances of things, without expressly attending to their more patent qualities, qualities which they have in common with many other things and which reason and sense suffice to ascertain. Geist endeavours to penetrate the essence of matter—I had almost said, to enter into the Geist of a thing, so identified is the term with inner individuality and special type. French esprit certainly proceeds on the same lines, but, in conformity with the peculiar workings of the Gallic mind, shows a tendency to illustrate speciality by strong contrast, and, as brief and daring comparisons are apt to be incorrect, frequently succeeds in being more brilliant than true. As regards the English term, spirit, in this particular application, it is

essentially a sensible quality, but it is sense shaded off with a warm appreciation of what is correct, right, and true. Instead of pretending to weigh, gauge, and assess the very soul of a person or an object, as the German and French relatives of the English term undertake, spirit is content to discern main facts and clothe them with colours supplied by principle and sense alike. The diversity of national character stands out well in these various ways of distinguishing the leading forces of the soul. The German endeavours to penetrate the inner essence of things by patient research; the French attempt to reach the same goal by brilliant leaps; and the steady-going, confident, and hearty valuation of surrounding objects by English sense equally betray some of the leading characteristics of the three national types compared.

A German word, indigenous to the race and to that race alone, deserves to be mentioned in connection with this train of thought. "Gemüth" is the collective residue of all we have known, felt, and willed. An infant can have no Gemüth, because it has known, felt, and willed so little, at least not very consciously and perhaps not very feelingly either: even an old man need have no Gemüth, unless his experience in the realm of thought, feeling, and action has been properly digested and transformed into a well-tempered combination of intellect and sentiment. Gemüth is reason permeated by feeling, or feeling rendered active by character and intellect through the education of life. It is the accumulated result of our soul's experience, with the mild light of an interpreting and conciliatory sentiment shed over errors and defects. When reading in Dryden, —

> "Dim, as the borrow'd beams of moon and stars
> To lonely, weary, wand'ring travellers,
> Is *reason* to the soul: and as on high,
> Those rolling fires discover but the sky.
> Not light is here; so *reason's* glimmering ray
> Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way,
> But guide us upward to a better day."

When reading these lines in his great poet, an Englishman is apt to point to religion as the force beginning where reason ends, and supplying what reason fails to give. The German, on the other hand, is as likely to solace himself with Gemüth as well as Religion — Gemüth, a sympathetic appreciation of the universe, and Religion, the faith that believes in more than the visible part of the universe.

In laying these few specimens before you, enough, I hope, has been said to delineate the new branch of psychological science springing up in linguistic soil. It is the extension of the comparative principle from the grammar to the lexicon. In course of time we may hope to be indebted to it both for a more exact knowledge of our own race, of foreign races, and of the things and thoughts reflected in the great depositories of national intellect — in languages.

The following is the syllabus of a second lecture delivered by Professor C. Abel before the members of the Oriental Congress and of the German Athenæum on the 25th of October, 1889, on "Indo-European Affinities":

"Extensive interchange of sound in the Egyptian language, proved by variants of words, by varied reduplication and half ('broken') reduplication. Dialectical and successive changes comparatively indifferent.—Words with their affinities thus proved in Egyptian, found to be represented in Indo-European either by identical words or by phonetic variants lawfully traceable to the same root, the signification being likewise either the same or another *nuance* of the more general and comprehensive meaning of the root.—Both deviations accounted for by words in Egyptian commonly including several meanings derived from the same root, while each meaning is at the same time expressed by different phonetic variants of the root.—The like changeability, though in a less degree, preserved in the more highly cultivated and differentiated words of the Indo-European family.

"If changes of sound and signification are more easily discernible in Egyptian, by occurring both in words of identical *and* varied meaning, they are demonstrated to exist in Indo-Germanic as well, though generally distributed in this family over several related idioms and confined to words with varied meaning.—The phonetic laws of the Indo-European family not affected by the demonstration of older laws, establishing an original wider range of affinities in times antecedent to the progressive embodiment of separate meanings in separate phonetic types."

REPORT OF PROGRESS TO THE END OF 1890

REGARDING

THE STATUTORY NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

(To be held in London in September, 1891, on the basis of the original principles laid down in 1873.)

LECTURES were delivered by Professor C. Abel, the German delegate, at the German Athenæum, to the members of the Statutory Oriental Congress as also to the members of the German Athenæum. We are only able to publish one of these lectures, and to give the syllabus of the other. A very important paper by Professor E. Montet, of Geneva, the delegate for Switzerland, was also circulated among the members, on "The Conception of a Future Life among the Semitic Races," and has attracted much attention. Two numbers of the *Arabic* and *Sanscrit Critical Journals*, as also a treatise on "Muhammadanism" and another on "The Ethnographical Basis of Language with general reference to the Language and People of Hunza," by Dr. Leitner, were also circulated to the signatory members, *i.e.* to those who have signed the Circular or Resolutions in favour of the maintenance of the original Statutes in their integrity, and against the encroachments thereon with which Professor Max Müller and the Christiania Committee (Messrs. Dillmann, Kuenen, Bühler and Landberg) are identified.

A guarantee of £1,000 to defray expenses on publications, prizes, examinations, etc., has been obtained, as also the adhesion of nearly 400 Signatory Members in thirty countries, in support of the above Congress.

Members will, it is expected, be entitled to a certain reduction in railway fares, etc., during the assembling of the Congress.

Special arrangements have been made for the reception and accommodation of the Delegates deputed to the above International Congress of Orientalists, in order to inform it of work done in one or more subjects of research connected with the East, or to obtain information regarding the work done by others.

The *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, the *Arabic Critical Quarterly*, and the *Sanscrit Critical Monthly Journals*, are open to papers from members, and to other communications regarding the Congress.

Letters or Papers on subjects to be considered before, or to be discussed at the Congress, in one or more of the undermentioned Sections or at the general meetings, are to be sent to Dr. Leitner, Oriental Institute, Woking, England, who alone in this country is authorized to receive the subscription (£1) of Members. Books for presentation to the Congress, or exhibits for a special Oriental Exhibition, illustrative of the work of the Oriental Congress in its various Branches, should also be sent to Dr. Leitner, Woking, England. Subscriptions in France may be paid to

M. Leroux, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris, and to any of the Statutory Delegates in different countries for the Congress of 1891.

The following are the Sections into which the work of the Congress has been divided, subject to future Classification under their respective

(*a*) Summaries of Oriental Research since 1886.

(*b*) 1. Semitic languages, except Arabic.

2. Arabic and Muhammadanism.

[illegible] ology.

Ar[illegible]

Ar[illegible] pt Egypt.

[illegible] tive Religion.

[illegible] tive Language

(*i*) Suggestions for the encouragement of Oriental Studies.

(*j*) Indo Chinese.

(*k*) Sinology.

(*l*) Japanese.

(*m*) Dravidian.

(*n*) Malayan and Polynesian.

(*o*) Instructions to Explorers, etc.

(*p*) Ethnographical Philology.

(*q*) Oriental Archaeology and Art.

(*r*) Relations of Europeans with Orientals.

(*s*) Oriental Linguistics in Commerce.

The following Essays are invited [illegible] connection with the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists:

(*a*) Proposals for the promotion of Oriental studies, both in the East, where they are beginning to be neglected, and in the West, as a part of general and special education.

(*b*) The importance of ethnographical studies in philological inquiries.

(*c*) A scheme of transliteration for Oriental languages generally—suited for European use, not in any way to supersede the native characters for the use of natives.

(*d*) Report of researches made and of books written in the various Oriental specialities since the Seventh Meeting of the Congress, at Vienna, in 1886.

(*e*) What is the true work of an ideal International Congress of Orientalists?

(*f*) Instructions to travellers in various parts of the East.

(*g*) What relations should be cultivated between Orientalists and native Oriental scholars in the East?

(*h*) The importance of the study of Oriental Linguistics in Commerce.

The following Prizes have been offered through the Oriental Institute, Woking, in connection with the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, to be held in London in September, 1891:—

(*a*) A translation into Hindi of the Atharvaveda. £300.

(*b*) A translation into English of the Tafsir-ul-Jalalein. £30.

(*c*) 20 Medals and Diplomas of Honour, Merit and Approval respectively, in each of the Sections of the Congress for papers contributed to these Sections and decided on by their respective Sectional Committees.

EXAMINATIONS OF THE ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, WOKING.

The following notice of Oriental Examinations by the Oriental University Institute, Woking, is published for general information :—

"Boards of Examiners have been or are being constituted in various Oriental countries, in co-operation with European scholars, in order to test the proficiency of candidates in both native Oriental, and in European Orientalist, standards, either in a branch of Oriental learning, or in an Oriental language. The Examinations will be held in August, 1891, in any part of Europe, or the United States in which there is a Candidate and an Oriental Professor willing to superintend his examination. The Examinations will be followed by the award of Certificates to successful Candidates, conveying Oriental designations of proficiency. Candidates should inform Dr. Leitner, Woking, England, of their qualifications, and the subject, language, and standard in or by which they desire to be examined. A limited number of successful Candidates, not exceeding twenty, will receive furnished quarters and guidance in their studies free of cost at the Oriental Institute, Woking, should they prosecute subjects of Oriental research in England, provided they abstain from all religious or political controversy and attend to the observances of their own religion. The following is a sketch of the approximate standards of some of the academical Examinations, but practical and conversational Examinations will also be held for the benefit of intending travellers to the East, and of military and civil officers generally.

1. ORIENTAL CLASSICAL LANGUAGES.

ARABIC EXAMINATION.

Subjects.

Literature.
- Maqamat-i-Hariri.
- Diwan-i-Hamasa.
- Diwan-i-Mutanabbi.

Prosody.
- Aruz-ul-Miftah.

Rhetoric.
- Mutawwal.

Logic.
- Qazi Mubarak (Tasawwarat); Hamd-Ullah.
- (Tasdiqat); Rashidiya (Ilm Munazarah).

Philosophy.
- Sadra.

Law.
- Muamalat Hidaya.

Composition.
- An Essay in Arabic.

Oral Examination.
- Reading, conversation, and explanation.

PERSIAN EXAMINATION.

Subjects.

Rhetoric and Prosody.
- Hadaiq-ul Balághat.

Literature.
- Calcutta B.A. *Arabic* Course.
- Qasaid Badar Chach.
- Durra Nadra (selections).
- Tughra.
- Tawarikh Maujam.

Moral Philosophy.
- Akhlaq-i-Jalali (the whole).

Translation.
- Persian into the Candidate's own language and *vice versâ.*

Composition.
- An Essay.

Oral Examination.
- Reading and discussion in Persian.

SANSKRIT EXAMINATION.

Subjects.

Grammar.
Siddhant Kaumadi, the whole, and Prakrita Prakasa.

Prosody.
Pingala Sutras.

Rhetoric.
Kavya Prakasa and Dasa Rupa.

Literature—
Poetry.
Naishadha Charita (first half).
Prose.
Vasavadatta.
Drama.
Mrichhakatika.
Weber's History of Indian Literature in Hindi.

Philosophy—Any two of the following—
(*a*) *Logic.*
Vyaptivada by Jagadisa or Nyayasutravritti.
(*b*) *Vaiseshika.*
Sutra with a commentary.
(*c*) *Sankhya.*
Sutra with pravachanabhashya.
(*d*) *Patanjala.*
Sutra with bhashya.
(*e*) *Vedanta.*
Sutra with bhashya.

SANSKRIT EXAMINATION (*continued*).

Hindu Sciences—Any one of the following—
Medicine.
Susruta, Charaka, or Bagbhatta.
Mathematics and Astronomy.
Siddhant Siromani.
Hindu Law.
Mitakshara.
Religion.
(*a*) *Rig Veda*—Sanhita, first four adhyayas of 1st Ashtak. (*b*) *Yajur Veda*—Shukla Yajur Vajasaneyi Sanhita Madhyandini Sakha, 10 adhyayas. (*c*) *Sama Veda*—Mantra Bhaga, Chhandasya archika from 1st Prapathaka to Indra Parba in 5th Prapathaka. (*d*) *Itihas*—Shanti Parb of Mahabharat or Valmikya Ramayana. (*e*) *or Puran*—Srimad Bhagavat.

Translation.
The Candidate's Vernacular into Sanskrit and *vice versa.*

Composition.
An Essay in Sanskrit.

Oral Examination.
Reading, speaking, and discussion in Sanskrit.

A Candidate may be examined in only one Branch of the above Languages and their respective Literatures, and receive a corresponding Certificate, if successful, but he will be required to pass a more exhaustive examination than in the above general test.

2. VERNACULAR ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

URDU EXAMINATION.

Subjects.

Rhetoric and Prosody.
Faiz-ul-Ma'ani.
Hadaiq-ul-Balaghat ka Urdu tarjuma.

Literature—
Poetry.
Muntakhibàt-i-Nazm-i-Urdu.
Gulzár-i-Nazim.
Alif Leila (Naumanzúm).
Prose.
Ud-i-Hindi.
Aql-o-Shu'ur.
Fasàn-i-Ajàib.
Ab-i-Hayat (History of he language).
Qawàif-ul-Mantiq.
Jàmi-ul-Akhlàq (or translation of Akhlàq-i-Jalàli).

VERNACULAR ORIENTAL LANGUAGES (continued).

URDU EXAMINATION (*continued*).

Composition.
  An Essay in Urdu.
Oral Examination.
  Reading, explanation, and fluent conversation in Urdu.

HINDI EXAMINATION.

Subjects.

Grammar
  Navina Chandrodai (the whole).
Prosody.
  Chhandarnava and Bihkihari Das's Pingala.
Rhetoric.
  Rastarang Kavya and Vyangarth Kaumudi.
Literature—
  Prose.
    Charupath, Part III. Mahabharat.
  Poetry.
    Tulsi Ramayan, the whole.
    Bhasha Kavya Sangraha and Sangit Pustak.
    Prithi Raj Rasao of Chand Vardai.
  Drama.
    Prabôdh Chandrodai Natak.
    Randhir Prem Mohini Natak.
  General.
    Jalsthiti, Jalgati, and Vayuk Tattwa.
    Kheti Sar.
Composition.
  An Essay in Hindi.
Oral Examination.
  Reading, explanation, and fluent conversation in Hindi.

PANJÁBI EXAMINATION.

Subjects.

Grammar and Prosody
Literature —
  Poetry.
    Adi Granth.
    Granth of 10th Guru (the whole).
  Prose.
    Janam Sakhi by Pujari Mokhe.
  Drama.
    Prabódh Chandrodai Natak.
    Anek Darshana (the whole).
Translation.
  From Hindi into Panjábi, and *vice versâ.*
Composition.
  An Essay in Panjábi.
Oral Examination.
  Reading, explanation, and fluent conversation in Panjábi

PUSHTU EXAMINATION.

Subjects.

Literature.
  Adam Khan Durkhani.
  Babu Jan (the whole).
  Abdul Hamid (the whole).
  Abdur Rahman.
Composition.
  An Essay in Pushtu.
Oral Examination.
  Reading, explanation, and fluent conversation in Pushtu.

* And so on as regards other languages.

There will also be special examinations in Hindu, and in Muhammadan, Law, in the Yunáni and Vaidak systems of Medicine, etc.

The above general and special Examinations, and others of a more searching character in any one branch of a subject, will be held annually in connection with the Oriental Institute. For further particulars, apply to Dr. Leitner, Oriental University Institute, Woking."

THE IMPERIAL

AND

Asiatic Quarterly Review,

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1891.

THE KASHMIR RAILWAY.

ONE of the most interesting announcements concerning the Eastern world that has been lately made, is that a proposal has been laid before the Government of India by the Kashmir State, and virtually accepted by them, to construct a line of railway from the neighbourhood of Rawalpindi in the Punjab, into the valley of Kashmir. A long article was devoted to the subject in *The Times* of February 12th, which discussed at some length the advantages of the proposal and the several routes which had been surveyed and examined before finally selecting that known as the Panjar route. The project is, however, so interesting, from many considerations, political, commercial, and military, that it deserves some further attention in a Review primarily devoted to Asiatic matters.

Of the advantages which a railway will bring to the beautiful, land-locked valleys of Kashmir, now so difficult of access, no one can have any doubt who remembers, or was officially connected with, the great Punjab famine, which commenced in 1877 and continued, with more or less violence, till the close of 1879. The population of Kashmir is almost entirely dependent on the rice crop, which is abundant or scanty in proportion to the fall of

snow on the lofty hills surrounding the valleys, and which feeds the streams throughout the summer heat.

The spring harvest of 1877 failed, and the rice crop, which promised to be exceedingly abundant, was destroyed by the early winter. The Governor of the Valley was at the time Wazir Pannu, a well-known and trusted official of the late Maharaja, but a harsh administrator, careless of the sufferings of the people so long as he could extract from them the State revenue demands. The people, already impoverished by the loss of their harvest, which lay rotting in the fields, were nevertheless compelled to pay the Governor's demands. No attempts were made to import grain, and by the summer of 1878, famine was everywhere present in Kashmir. Throughout the year the state of affairs drifted from bad to worse; the Maharaja and his officials seemed apathetic in presence of the disaster, and it was only on the strongest pressure of the British Government that active measures for the relief of the distress were at last undertaken, the greater portion of them carried out by English officials, under the orders of the Punjab Government. If a railway had then existed to pour grain into the Valley, hundreds of thousands of lives would have been saved; but the mountain roads were difficult, and the deficit in the food supply, continually increasing through the deficient harvests of 1878, was so great, that it was impossible to convey on baggage animals, the only transport available, sufficient food to save a large portion of the population of Kashmir from absolute death by starvation. No one will ever know what was the total mortality in the Kashmir famine. The Punjab Government estimated that upwards of half of the population perished, and I have seen estimates placing the loss still higher. There have been several other famines in Kashmir during the last sixty years, notably, one during the year 1831, during the government of Sher Singh, and a second in 1865. It may indeed be said, although the records of historical famines are themselves meagre, that with the normal

condition of mal-administration, the difficulty of import of grain, and prohibition by the State of all emigration, famines have occurred in Kashmir about every twenty years. The meteorological conditions of the country render the climate exceedingly uncertain; and failure in the crops may arise from absence of the spring rains for the early crops, from failure of the winter snow supplying the streams for the autumn crops, or, as was the case in 1877, from an early winter, with incessant rain and snow, destroying the October rice crops on which the population was chiefly dependent.

It is a matter of great congratulation that the Maharaja and his Council have recognised that the only safety for the Kashmir population, and the only security for the revenue, which a catastrophe like a famine throws into confusion, is the construction of a line of railway from the Punjab to the heart of the Valley, which will practically render famine impossible in the future. It is on this ground chiefly that the construction of the railway has been pressed on the Government of India. Until it has been made, the country will not be secure against a calamity like that of 1877-8; and a very heavy weight of responsibility would rest on the Imperial Government if they declined to support and further, in every way, the construction of the line upon which the prosperity of this interesting country mainly depends. Very few native States have shown the foresight and wisdom which the Kashmir Council, under the disinterested advice of the British Resident, have displayed. The Maharaja has had all possible routes for the line surveyed by his Chief Engineer, Major-General De Bourbel; and that which has been finally decided on is the one which presents the fewest physical difficulties, and which will prove the quickest and cheapest to construct.

If once the danger of a periodical famine, due to the difficulty of importation of grain, be removed, Kashmir will rapidly recover its former prosperity, and double its scanty

population; for the soil is exceedingly rich, and almost all the products of temperate regions can be produced there in abundance. Of rice I have already spoken. The cultivation of hops, which was commenced under the superintendence of the Murree Brewery Company, has, so far as it has been continued, been entirely successful, and the quality of the crops produced has been excellent. The shawl manufacture has for many years past been in a state of depression, chiefly owing to the fact that Kashmir shawls, the great demand for which came from France, have gone out of fashion. But it is still an important industry, and there are many others which may fill up the loss; of these, perhaps silk is the most important. There is no country in the East where the silkworm flourishes better; and the climate is eminently suited to the growth of the mulberry. The great difficulty which has hitherto been experienced is in the reeling of the silk, which requires highly-skilled labour; and when this has been improved by the importation of skilled operatives from without, there is no doubt that the Kashmir silk will obtain the high quotation in the European markets which its intrinsic qualities deserve. Cotton and saffron are also valuable products, and the dairy produce is an important export. Immense herds of sheep and goats feed on the high pastures, both in Kashmir proper and in the mountains beyond. The wool of Kashmir, of which the famous shawls are made, is celebrated throughout the world; and even if the shawls continue to be less in demand than formerly, there are numerous fabrics in *pashmina* and *pattu* which will always command a wide sale.

Of the fruits of Kashmir, the grape is the most important, and vines of many species produce an excellent wine, white and red, which has been successfully manufactured under French supervision, 36,000 bottles having been produced in 1887; and the supply is unlimited, although the produce per acre, owing to unscientific cultivation, is at present small, and not more than half that of French vine-

yards. Besides grapes, almost every description of fruit—apples, pears, plums, cherries, peaches, strawberries, apricots, and nuts—grows in abundance; and as most of these cannot be produced in the hot plains of India, the exportation may be expected to be exceedingly large when means of transport are available. Timber will be an important article of export, as the Kashmir forests are extensive and are filled with valuable trees, such as the deodar and the pine.

With regard to the mineral prospects of Kashmir, it may be well to extract a paragraph from General de Bourbel's report, which shows that there is good hope that in the future the mines will furnish a large additional source of revenue to the Kashmir State.

"Little is known regarding the mineral prospects of Kashmir; but I have seen sufficient to convince me that there is a great field here for the application of capital under private enterprise, as soon as a railway can be constructed, and when the requisite facilities and proper protection can be given. Ores of iron, copper, lead, sulphur, and silver have been found in different localities; coal and antimony are known to exist in Jammu and Púnch, while the gold washings in the Indus river and its tributaries, show that the source cannot be far distant. I have not had time or leisure to make any active search except in the case of coal. Carboniferous rocks, known locally as the Sabáthú group, and upheaved by the nummulitic limestone, extend in a line from Riassi by Kotli to Abbottabad. Where the limestone protrudes in high scarped hills, the adjoining sandstone shales and coal are broken through, tilted up vertically, and are crushed and friable; but where the limestone has simply upheaved the strata and appears like a boss on the surface, the adjoining strata are tilted up at a less angle, and the coal at the outcrops comes out in blocks and appears harder. Outcrops have been noted in thirty different places, of which I have only worked two at present. In the first the coal was too friable, and would not bear carriage; in the second seam the coal appears to

be of better quality. It is situated about thirty-five miles west from Aknúr, on the Chenab, or fifty miles from Jammu. A tramway can be made to connect either with the Púnch route about Kotli, or the Banihál route about Riassi."

The goods traffic from Kashmir is likely to be considerable, and will rapidly increase with the development of the country. In the same way the present amount of imports from British India may be expected largely to increase with the construction of the railway; and the Kashmir routes to Central Asia will absorb a large proportion of that trade which now passes through Afghanistan in spite of the high customs duties levied upon it. The increase in the passenger traffic it is difficult to estimate, for the reason that Kashmir is a country full of sacred shrines, annually visited by large numbers of Hindu and Muhammadan pilgrims. The expense and difficulty of a pilgrimage to these shrines are now very great; but with the facilities offered by the railway there is no doubt that the pilgrim traffic will enormously increase, while tourists, both European and native, will visit this most delightful of countries in ever increasing numbers. Although it is by no means easy to calculate, with even approximate exactness, the amount of goods and passenger traffic on a line like that now proposed, a great portion of which passes through a scantily peopled country, and where the revenue must be chiefly expected from through traffic,—yet there can be little doubt that, with the rich country of Kashmir at one terminus of the line, and British India, with its enormous population and increasing trade, at the other, the prospects of the railway are exceedingly good, and will in a short time exceed any guarantee which may be jointly given by the Imperial and Kashmir Governments.

The route which has finally been selected will join the main line of the North-Western Railway a few miles below the great military station of Rawalpindi, and, passing about one-third of its length due north through British

territory, will follow the valley of the Jhelum river to Báramúlla and Srinagar, which would be its present terminus. The chief advantage of this line is, that the gradients are comparatively easy, and the construction of a railway through the hills will be both simple and inexpensive when compared with the proposed routes by Púnch or Banihál, where the mountain ranges, far too high for a practicable line across them, require many miles of tunnelling; but on the Panjár route the tunnelling will be small, the time of construction will be no more than four years, against five years by the Banihál route and eight years by Púnch. The total capital required for the Panjár route would be 250 lakhs of rupees, as against 350 for the Banihál and 370 for the Púnch line; while that by Abbottabad, which has also been suggested, would still take one year more to construct, and would cost more than 25 lakhs in excess of Panjár.

The objections to the Abbottabad route are principally its exposed position on the extreme North-West frontier, and the fact that the traffic would be taken still further away from the commercial centres to which it is naturally directed. In this respect both the Púnch and the Banihál routes are more direct so far as Lahore and Amritsar are concerned; but the great difficulty of railway construction on these routes makes their abandonment imperative. Cheapness must be the principal factor in the construction of a line of this character, which will be, with the exception of the narrow gauge line to Darjiling, the only mountain railway in British India. The total length of the line is estimated at about 210 miles, of which 78 are in British territory and 132 in Kashmir.

Although the line must mainly depend on its through traffic, yet, according to General De Bourbel's report, there is a cultivated plateau of about 35 miles in length from the North-Western Railway to Sún, 15 miles beyond Kahúta; while on the Kashmir side, the 36 miles from Báramúlla to Srinagar are under rice cultivation; and con-

sequently on these 71 miles some local traffic may be expected, though on the remaining 139 miles much local traffic cannot be hoped for at present. The gauge of the new railway will probably be the same as that which prevails on all the main lines in India, 5 feet 6 inches, although this point has not been absolutely determined on. But although the cost of the broad-gauge will considerably exceed that of a metre-gauge, yet the greater cheapness would be dearly bought by a break of gauge at the junction with the North Western Railway. For commercial and strategical purposes the Kashmir Railway must be considered as one of the main lines of India; and it would be a mistake for the Government to accept it on any other condition. With regard to the strategical advantages of the railway it is unnecessary to write at length. They are obvious to any person who has considered with any attention the military defence of the north-west frontier of India. Until this line be constructed there will always be a gap in the armour of the Indian Empire, which in time of difficulty and danger it will be too late to attempt to repair. The Maharajah of Kashmir and his Council, with the greatest loyalty and good sense, have come forward to assist the Government to complete the Imperial defences, in which they are as closely interested and concerned as ourselves, and have offered to bear their full and fair share of the burden of construction and maintenance of the line, and are willing to guarantee a reasonable rate of interest on the portion which passes through Kashmir territory. The golden opportunity has now arrived, and it only remains for the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take care that by undue delay it is not allowed to be lost or indefinitely postponed.

DIPLOMATICUS.

OUR RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN, PAST AND PRESENT.

II.

THE first business to be done now at Kabul, was the capture, trial, and punishment of the guilty in the massacre of the British embassy, and the investigation of the conduct of the Amir Ya'cub Khan in relation to this matter. Two or three prominent men and a number (40 or 50) of obscure persons were capitally punished for the part they were proved to have taken in the attack on the Residency; but as no evidence of complicity was attainable to directly implicate the Amir as a participator in the foul treachery, he was deported to India as a State prisoner for political reasons. The next business was to pacify the country and subdue the resistance of hostile gatherings. But this, owing to the absence of plan, purpose, or policy, was no practicable matter in the state of complete anarchy into which the country had fallen; the local governors having everywhere disappeared, and the tribal chiefs in all directions working each for his own hand. It was easy enough to chastise and disperse hostile gatherings of the turbulent populations around the positions held by the British forces; but all these military operations and burning of villages, from want of a fixed policy, served only to increase the enmity and hatred of the people toward us, without in the least tending to pacify the country.

The point on which the British Government had to come to a decision at this time was the immediate disposal of Afghanistan, which, with the advanced positions assigned to the British by the Treaty of Gandumak, and the actual possession at the moment of Kabul and Kandahar, its northern and southern capitals, was practically a conquered country, and now lay without a ruler

off our hands, either to be pacified and settled as an annexed province of our Indian empire, or to be abandoned once more to native rulers to be again the cause of yet greater anxiety, trouble, and expense. The British position with regard to Afghanistan was at this period certainly one of great difficulty, and various alternatives were discussed as to the course to be now adopted. The only fixed point in the policy of the British Government with regard to Afghanistan was its determination not to annex the country; and there was nothing left but to cast about for some means of extricating the British forces from their present positions without abandoning the country to uncontrolled anarchy.

If Afghanistan was to be maintained under Barakzai rule in its present consolidated integrity, as left by Dost Muhammad and amplified by Sher Ali, and to be given another lease of British support and protection, the present occasion offered the opportunity of either restoring Ya'cub as Amir,—and this is what the people desired,—and supporting his authority by British garrisons at Kabul and Kandahar, or such other suitable points as might be determined; or of placing his youthful son Musa on the throne, with a native council of administration, the members to be nominated partly by the British Government and partly by the Amir, and to be under the supervision of a Board of Control composed of British officers. If the maintenance of the country as a united whole was not considered of such importance, then the split up of Afghanistan into independent chiefships, as at the time of the dissolution of the Saddozai rule and the division of the kingdom among the Barakzai chiefs in 1818,—under British control and protection, and support,—was the alternative that presented itself. This was a prospect which past experience had proved to be anything but desirable, and one in no way calculated to smooth or improve the course of British relations with the country. Yet it was the policy actually adopted by the Government

of India in the Viceroyship of Lord Lytton. The Kandahari chief, Sher Ali Khan was actually installed in the government of that province under British control and support, with the title of Wáli, and as such was acknowledged by the Queen Empress; and the Kabuli chief Wáli Muhammad Khan was seriously taken up as a suitable governor for Kabul under similar conditions; whilst as to Herat, the idea was actually entertained—nay, the offer was made—of restoring that province to the Persians. Had this scheme of breaking up Afghanistan into chiefships been adopted, without at the same time supporting the several chiefs of our selection with a military force in their respective capitals, it is certain that Afghanistan would have become a scene of continuous anarchy and a hot-bed of intrigue, and ere long would have necessitated our again occupying the country with our troops.

The question of Wáli Muhammad's recognition as Wáli of Kabul was yet under consideration, when another claimant appeared in the field, not as mere governor of this province or of that, but as Amir of Afghanistan in its integrity, as left by his grandfather, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and as ruled by his own father, Amir Afzal Khan (eldest son and successor of Dost Muhammad) the *de facto* Amir of 1866, and acknowledged as such by the Government of India of that day. This was no other than Sirdar Abdurrahman Khan, who on the recovery of his throne by Amir Sher Ali Khan, in 1869, fled the country and for the past twelve years had lived in exile at Samarkand, on the bounty of the Russian Government. He was at this crisis of the British political situation in Afghanistan, drawn out from the obscurity of his asylum, and with the countenance and aid of his Russian supporters was now put forward to secure for himself the country, to the throne, of which he claimed to be the rightful heir. It was a repetition of the Shah Shuja game, which was played from the side of India forty years

before, only, to be sure, played with greater prudence and more foresight, and moreover with complete success by the Russians with their kite.

At the time that Abdurrahman appeared in Balkh or Afghan Turkistan—the province formerly governed both by his father and by himself—in February, 1880, the Government of India, in its perplexity for want of a settled policy in regard to Afghanistan, was only too impatient to quit the country,—the occupation of which in this intolerable, useless, and very troublous manner was draining the revenues of India to a dangerous degree of depletion, and unsettling the minds of the natives to no good purpose, —and shrunk with dread at the bare notion of any turn in events which should prolong the stay of the British forces in the country, which the British Government had no intention to annex. Consequently they seized eagerly upon the opportunity now offered to make friendly overtures to Abdurrahman, who at this time—March, 1880—had already got together with himself four infantry and two cavalry regiments, and two batteries of artillery, and was busy levying more troops and raising a party for himself in Afghanistan.

In reply to the letter from Mr. Griffin (dated 1st April), the political officer with the British force at Kabul, Abdurrahman (on the 16th April) desired to know the nature of the friendship the British Government now desired, and offered to come to Charikar to discuss matters with the English officers; because, if they desired to place him in power, it was necessary that they should make him secure before they withdrew from the country. At the same time—after this long cogitation—Abdurrahman, whether of his own motion or the prompting of his Russian friends, candidly declared his obligations and gratitude to the Russian Government, from which he had received many favours during the past twelve years, and frankly expressed his desire to be now the friend of both Powers, and to live at peace between them. These frank

avowals on the part of Abdurrahman, and his expressed desire to be established in the rule of Afghanistan under the joint protection of the British and Russian empires, did not, in the opinion of the British Politicals, appear "to render him less eligible than when selected by the British Government, but more so." And consequently (30th April), further communications ensued, inviting Abdurrahman to come to Kabul to discuss arrangements, with the object of unconditionally transferring to him the government of the country, from which, he was informed, the British forces would, in any case, be withdrawn a few months later; the British Government having no desire to annex Afghanistan, but only to establish an Amir who was willing to live in peace and friendship with it; and as he was ready to do this, the British Government would assist him to establish himself and supply his immediate wants. As to what he had said regarding Russia, on that point there was no difficulty, the British Government desiring nothing different from what had been already agreed upon between that country and itself. Abdurrahman was further informed that Kandahar had been severed from Kabul, and given to Sirdar Sher Ali Khan, who had already been recognised as Wáli by the Queen Empress, but that Herat was at his disposal either to annex or not, as he pleased; and, further, that in now accepting him as Amir of Kabul, the Government of India required no pledges, concessions, or reciprocal engagements, they merely wished to leave the country in the hands of a competent ruler, and were ready to afford him facilities and support in establishing himself at the capital. This information did not seem to satisfy the expectations of Abdurrahman, and he required more explicit information as to the extent of his territory and the nature of his responsibilities as ruler of Kabul before he could proceed further towards the capital; and to get a reply quickly, he proposed to place mounted couriers on the road, and to issue a proclamation to his countrymen

directing them to assemble within their own bounds, and to abstain from provoking hostilities against the British army. This was the report of the British messenger on his return to Kabul at the end of May. It now appeared to our Politicals that Abdurrahman had been merely temporizing; and as just at this time the general state of fermentation among the people was increased and extended by letters, purporting to come from Abdurrahman, circulating through the country, bidding the tribes to be armed and ready; and as simultaneously Abdurrahman was reported to be in close correspondence with Muhammad Jan—an active participator in the attack on the British Residency, and the most energetic and determined of our opponents in the field—who was undoubtedly levying forces against us, grave doubts arose in their minds as to the good faith of Abdurrahman, and they recommended that further amicable communications with him should be abandoned.

At this juncture Lord Ripon came to India as the new Viceroy. It was clear that the claimant for the throne of Afghanistan, let loose by Russia, was not relying solely upon British aid and recognition, but was taking early measures to strengthen himself independently by summoning his countrymen to be ready to join his standard in case he failed to come to a satisfactory arrangement with the British. But so great was the anxiety to avoid any course that would create fresh difficulties and prolong the detention of the British forces—at this time numbering 20,000 strong at Kabul—in the country beyond the period fixed for their withdrawal (the 10th August following), that it was decided to continue communications with Abdurrahman, and to send plain replies upon the points to which he had referred—namely, the extent of his territory and the nature of his responsibilities as Amir of Kabul. Accordingly, on the 14th June, Abdurrahman was informed that the Kabul ruler can have no political relations with any foreign Power except the British, since both Russia

and Persia are pledged to abstain from all political interference with Afghanistan affairs; and that if any such interference should occur, and lead to unprovoked aggression on the Kabul ruler, then the British Government will be prepared to aid him, if necessary, to repel it, provided that he follow its advice in regard to his external relations. As to the limits of the country, he was informed that Kandahar had been placed under a separate ruler, except the districts of Peshin and Sibi, which are retained in British possession; and that the question of the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan was also excluded from discussion. With these reservations the British Government was willing that he should establish over Afghanistan—including Herat, of which he was at liberty to take possession—as complete and extensive authority as had been hitherto exercised by any Barakzai Amir. That he would not be required to admit an English Resident anywhere, although it might be advisable to station, by agreement, a Muhammadan Agent of the British Government at Kabul. Abdurrahman was also informed that he was allowed five days within which to send his reply to this communication.

Abdurrahman replied within the limit fixed, and his letter reached Kabul on the 26th June. He said that what was the wish and object of himself and people had been kindly granted by the British authorities; that the boundaries of Afghanistan, which were settled by treaty with his grandfather, Dost Muhammad, these were now granted to him; that an English Envoy in Afghanistan had been dispensed with, and that he might admit a Musalman Agent, if he pleased. As to his relations with foreign Powers, he said: "How can I communicate with another Power without advice from and consultation with you? I agree to this also." In regard to foreign aggression upon Afghanistan, he wrote: "You will under all circumstances afford me assistance; and you will not permit any person to take possession of the territory of Afgha-

nistan. This also is my desire, which you have kindly granted." As to Herat, he was content to leave it in the hands of his cousin Ayub, so long as he did not oppose him. "Everything," he added, "shall be done as we both deem it expedient and advisable." He further intimated having written and sent letters, containing full particulars, to all the tribes of Afghanistan.

This reply,—as well it might be,—was considered ambiguous; and as another letter had been addressed to Abdurrahman on the 15th of June, requiring him to use his authority to repress tribal gatherings, in reply to which he pleaded weakness of authority, and declared that by ordering the clansmen to disperse he should only alienate his supporters, the political officers at Kabul now again doubted the sincerity of Abdurrahman, and for the second time represented the necessity, in this critical situation, of breaking off with him. The Government of India, however, thought such a measure hardly justifiable, and Abdurrahman was desired to proceed at once to Kabul. In compliance with this request he arrived at Charikar on the 20th July, and two days later, with the object of re-assuring the people and putting an end to this period of uncertainty, was formally and publicly recognised on the part of the British Government as Amir of Kabul. This lucky step was no sooner taken than news arrived of the defeat of General Burrows, on the Helmand, at Kandahar, by Ayub, and it became necessary to hasten arrangements with the Amir. Consequently on the last day of July, Mr. Griffin proceeded to Zimma, sixteen miles north of Kabul, to meet the Amir Abdurrahman Khan, and dispose of the matters for discussion. This political officer was most favourably impressed by the appearance, manner, and intelligence of Abdurrahman, who, he believed, was sincerely anxious for friendship with the British Government, and that he would hereafter prove a valuable ally. On this occasion five lakhs of rupees were made over to the Amir, and he was requested to send an energetic chief to accompany

General Roberts' force, about to leave Kabul for Kandahar, to secure an unopposed march of the division to Ghuzni, to the charge of which place the Amir was also requested to appoint an officer. On the 5th August nothing remained to be done but to hand over Kabul to the Amir, and withdraw the British troops from the country. General Roberts' force now left Kabul for Kandahar, and immediately after (12th August) General Stewart, with the remainder of the British forces, marched away for Gandumak, on the return to India. The Amir Abdurrahman, to whom all our recent fortifications of the place were made over intact, now took possession of Kabul, and entered on his rule of the country.

Thus ended the hostilities commenced in November, 1878, by the Government of India against Amir Sher Ali Khan, and renewed almost immediately against his son and successor Amir Ya'cub Khan. During this period of less than two years, the British Government employed, more or less continuously, upon and beyond the British frontier, as defined by the advanced positions acquired by the treaty of Gandumak, an army of eighty thousand British troops—European and native—accompanied by as many camp followers, and an untold number of transport cattle, to the dangerous denuding of the Indian garrisons and exposure of our military weakness in the country; and at a cost to the revenues of India of fully twenty millions of money, and to the people of the country of much political disquiet, great personal suffering, and serious loss of life. The war inflicted upon the people of India very wide-spread misery and hardship, from the loss by death of husbands, fathers, and sons—the natural supporters of the family—and from the high prices of food, caused by the drain to feed the army in the field. It entailed a serious loss of life among the troops and followers, more from disease than from battle, and, owing to the enormous destruction of camels and draught cattle, paralyzed for the time the transport powers of the country. Added to

which it created an unwholesome excitement in the courts of the native princes, because of the uncertainty as to the nature of the British policy.

Upon the Afghans the war inflicted but another term of the anarchy and confusion to which that country was no stranger; with the difference, however, that under our hostility, though they lost more lives than in their own inter-tribal contentions, they, on the other hand, gathered a rich harvest of rupees, and suffered but little disturbance in their homes. So much so, and so little so, indeed, that after the British forces evacuated their country, they began to calculate when they might again expect such a haul of money. Of our troops the Afghans showed less fear on this occasion than in the first Afghan war; and of our military position in the country they held no great opinion, so long as they restricted our authority to the line of our camp sentries, and drew from us rupees without stint for such services as they chose to render.

In return for the overwhelming force employed and the enormous expense incurred, what has the Government of India to show by way of gain? The position at Quetta and the ascendency in Balochistan, having been acquired prior to the outbreak of this war, are not of course to be counted among the advantages derived from its prosecution. The advantages then gained by the Afghan war of 1878-80 are the acquisition of the advanced positions on the Afghanistan frontier at the Khojak and Khybar passes, and that is all. But these in themselves are no small nor unimportant gain. With these positions in our hands the whole aspect and entire conditions of our military and political situation towards Afghanistan are completely changed, and rendered of a far more favourable character in respect to any future operations or dealings with that country than has ever been the case at any preceding period. This fact, coupled with the ensuing development of our railway system in connection with these advanced positions, and the state of our preparedness for an immediate extension of the lines

to Kandahar and Kabul, is in itself a gain to our position in India equivalent to an army of the strength of that employed in the attainment of this valuable result.

With these commanding advanced positions on the southern and northern extremities of our frontier towards Afghanistan in our own possession, it becomes an easy matter to close up and secure the intervening mountain range by a like appropriation of the several main routes which traverse its hills and defiles to the highlands of Ghazni and the basin of Kandahar. When we shall have opened out the passes in the Waziri and Kakar hills by good roads and occupied them with our troops, then the first step will have been taken towards the enrichment, the pacification, and the subjugation to civilized life of the lawless Pathan tribes, who from times of old—of the Indo-Scythian or perhaps of the Græco-Bactrian sovereignties, some 1,500 or 2,000 years ago—have continued (except, perhaps, during the period of the Ghaznavi dynasty) to exist in the secluded valleys and inaccessible fastnesses of an unclaimed mountain barrier, sunk in the poverty, the isolation, and the anarchy of a rulerless nation of predatory bandits. With British authority established in his country, the hungry, restless, and savage Pathan of the Suleman range, from the Waziri in the north to the Kakar in the south, will for the first time taste of the pleasures of uncontested wealth, the comforts of undisturbed peace, and the value of assured security. And for blessings such as these he will, from mere personal interest, if for no other reason, soon learn to appreciate the advantages of the new order of things, and will voluntarily own as his master and protector the power whose beneficent rule has conferred so great benefits. The effects of forty years of British rule over a kindred people in the Trans-Indus provinces afford gratifying evidence of what can be done towards ameliorating the material and social conditions of a notoriously turbulent and warlike population, and this without the exercise of any special measures for their reclamation. And there is no doubt

that similar results would be attained by the extension of British rule into the hill districts of the border Pathan in the Suleman range. Çhanges such as have been effected by the British rule in the Trans-Indus provinces—the accumulation of wealth, the security of property, the adoption of peaceable employments, and the pursuit of industrial occupations among a people born and bred and dying in ignorance, strife, and bloodshed—are, however, the growth of years, and may not be seen within the first generation; hence the pity that the policy now in operation for the rectification of this frontier was not adopted and set in action at an earlier period, or during the opportune occasion offered at the time of the Afghan civil war of 1864-69. Though, perhaps now, the quick-working influences exercised in the direction of civilization by the railway and the telegraph may suffice, with the facilities they afford for rapid communication with the frontier, to extend and diffuse new ideas and new habits with the knowledge and the wealth they convey, and to hasten the adaptation of the people to the altered conditions of their environments, and render them more speedily amenable to our rule.

But, be this as it may, there can be no doubt as to the immense advantage gained to the Empire by the acquisition of the advanced positions now occupied by the British Government at the southern and northern extremities of the Suleman range, not only as starting-points for the prosecution of future military operations in the territories they command to the westward, but as strategic points for the defence of the approaches to India in those directions; and perhaps, also for the control of the tribes inhabiting the intermediate portion of the range itself. To what extent and in what manner the advanced positions we now hold on the immediate frontiers of Kandahar and Kabul are likely to affect the nature of future military operations in those countries is a subject which—though of no small importance and interest in itself—can hardly be discussed profitably in the present state of uncertainty as to the

requirements and character of the occasion that may render such enterprise necessary. It may not, however, be altogether unprofitable at this time to take a hasty comparative glance at the nature of the conditions under which the operations of the first Afghan war of 1838-42 and the late Afghan war of 1878-80 were undertaken and pursued.

At the time of the earlier war, the Satlaj river formed the north-western limit of British India—500 miles distant from the Afghanistan border; and Russia, in central Asia, was then nigh twice as distant from the nearest point of Afghanistan in that direction. The British army employed on that occasion—Bengal and Bombay troops, together with the 6,000 men raised in India for Shah Shuja'—did not exceed thirty thousand men, with more than double the number of camp-followers, and an extraordinary multitude of transport cattle. The troops were armed with a smooth-bore musket of 100 yards range—the old "Brown Bess"—and the bayonet for the infantry; the artillery had also smooth-bore and muzzle-loading cannon; the cavalry was armed much in the same manner as at present, except that their carbines were smooth-bore and muzzle-loading. In physique the men were decidedly of a superior stamp: the European, a hardy five feet eight to five feet ten, broad-chested, square-shouldered, muscular, and bayonet-work man; the sepoy was the stalwart Purubiya (the Pandy), in build and strength little if anything inferior to his European comrade, so far as concerned the Bengal division; whilst the Bombay man, or Dakhani (the Duck), was neither so strongly built nor so well set up in figure, though an equally good sepoy in his way.

This army had a march of from ten to twelve weeks across the independent Native States of the Panjab and Sindh, before it arrived at the entrance to the mountain defiles and passes leading into Afghanistan. And in these awe-inspiring, barren, rugged, rocky, and unknown fastnesses they had to fight their way against the opposition and predatory attacks of the savage mountaineers. On the

other side of the passes they entered upon the highlands of Balochistan and Afghanistan, and on these distant battle-fields displayed their mettle and the stuff they were made of.

Their enemy, everywhere, was armed with the national *jazáil* and *chârah*—the one a long rifled matchlock of 300 yards range, the other a long, straight, thick-backed knife running to a sharp point; they used besides, the sword and shield; and many had only pikes and blunder-busses. They had few cavalry and fewer cannon, both inferior to our own, and the latter chiefly mounted in their fortresses. The Afghan, however, with his rifle and knife was a better-armed man than the British soldier with his "Brown Bess" and bayonet, but he had no discipline and lacked subordination to command; on the other hand, he had the courage inspired by patriotism and the confidence arising from a knowledge of his ground. Nevertheless, everywhere, barring one or two mishaps to small isolated detachments acting on the defensive, the British troops—operating generally on the offensive, and usually with small handy detachments—carried victory in their path, whether in the hard-contested field or against the obstinately defended fortress. The action at Hykalzai and the forcing of the Khojak pass, the storm and capture of Ghazni, and later on of Kilati Baloch—the two strong places considered impregnable by the people—were performances which created in the mind of the Afghan a wholesome respect for the British soldier, whether European or Native.

But with the prolonged stay of our army in Afghanistan and the more frequent contact of the people with our troops, the impression produced by our first successes against them soon faded away, and the Afghan presently showed us that he neither feared our troops nor was any way backward to meet them in the field after, to be sure, his own fashion. The various actions about the Helmund at Girishk and in Zamindawar, on the Tarnak, at Kilati Ghilzi, and elsewhere in 1841, when rebellion and disorder seem to have overspread the country, were for

the most part hard-fought contests by small detachments of the British troops (sometimes in conjunction with the Shah's troops) against hosts of the armed peasantry, and with results uniformly creditable to the British arms. But later on, towards the close of the same year, the affairs between our detachments and the rebellious clansmen in Zurmat and in Kokistan, south and north of Kabul, were not attended with such conspicuous success. And following close upon these came the revolt at Kabul itself, and the sudden discovery of the insufficiency of the British force there—less than 5,000 men, divided between the two positions of the Bala Hissar overlooking the city and the entrenched camp at Bimaru, three miles distant--to cope with the difficulty. The retreat of the garrison and its speedy destruction were consequences of the upper hand gained by the rebels.

This great disaster, including the later massacre of our garrison at Ghazni, though speedily avenged by a fresh army pushed through the Khybar and joined at Kabul by the force from Kandahar, created a great sensation at the time, and has left a lasting impression, at least in India—exaggerated in all its features by want of a sober and just consideration of the subject in all its bearings—of the ferocity and warlike spirit of the Afghans, and a furtive belief in their invincibility. Unstinted blame has been heaped upon the military authorities for their inability to perform impossibilities and their unwillingness to throw away the lives of their men in useless enterprises; whilst the conduct of affairs by the political authorities—through whose bad management and want of information as to what was going on around them, the revolt was brought about in a manner and with a suddenness which it was impossible to check or cut short with the force of British troops on the spot, has hardly received the full condemnation it deserves. Had the political authorities gained but an inkling of what their management of the affairs under their special control was leading to among the people; had they even ordinary

information of the movements of the disaffected chiefs, it would probably have been possible to employ the troops placed at their disposal usefully and successfully to coerce them, or better, to forestall their plans. But when they found everything gone by the run, it was too late for the politicals then to call upon the military to extricate them from their difficulty, because the task had then become impossible. Had the General in command of the British force at Kabul been invested—as undoubtedly he should have been—with political powers jointly with the Envoy and Minister, in so far as related to the requirements of the military situation in the country, he could have acted independently in an emergency of this kind, and exercised greater influence on the course of action to be promptly adopted in such a crisis. Had the General possessed such independent power, it is clear, from what has been recorded, that when the revolt broke out and showed the hopeless nature of our false position at Kabul, he would have left the Shah to quell the rebellion of his nobles in his own fashion, and by a timely retreat to Jalalabad have preserved unsullied and unbroken the honour and welfare of the troops committed to his charge, even if from that position it were impossible to retrieve our political supremacy at the capital. But the General was under the control of the Political, whose every act in this supreme crisis was marked by a fatal scheming and procrastination; and his repeated and urgent representations as to the necessity of an early retreat from an untenable position, whilst there was yet no snow and supplies were still procurable, were time after time rejected. And so it came to pass that a timely and practicable retreat, with our honour in our own keeping, was week after week postponed, until at last it was forced upon us, with our honour lost, our prestige destroyed, and our success hopeless. Famine, frost, and fatigue killed more than the knives and bullets of a bloodthirsty and revengeful people; and our Kabul garrison perished on the road, annihilated to a man. Our honour was retrieved by the

re-occupation of Kabul and recovery of our captives by a fresh army—an avenging army. But our prestige,—what with this disaster to the British arms, the slaughter of the king the British Government had set up, and the destruction of the Government they sought to establish, the abandonment of the country they had invaded, and the restoration of the ruler they had deposed—with all these causes of destruction our prestige was not so easily regained; and to this day, with the Afghan, whatever the share of other causes, the Kabul disaster itself has obliterated the impression made by the previous victorious course of the British arms; and further, its effects on the national pride have not been effaced by the more recent occupation of the country by British troops.

In the later Afghan war of 1878-80, the British troops invaded the country under vastly more favourable conditions than any that obtained in the preceding war. The Sindh and Panjab had long since become British territory, and were at this time traversed by railways well advanced towards the frontier. The frontier of British India was now well within the Baloch and Afghan national limits, and lay along the base of the Suleman range. Instead of a march of two or three months across foreign countries to reach the passes, as many days almost sufficed for the purpose; our frontier garrisons lying in close proximity to the passes—now no longer unknown ground—and their inhabitants readily amenable to the argument of rupees. The Russian frontier in Central Asia, or Turkistan, was at this time advanced to within easy reach of the Oxus and Herat boundaries of the Afghan State. The British troops employed in this war on and beyond the frontier exceeded eighty thousand men in number, attended by upwards of 100,000 camp-followers, and an innumerable multitude of transport animals, of which sixty thousand camels alone were destroyed in the service of the army in the field. As to the physique and armament of the troops, there was no longer any fair comparison. The Afghans were still armed

with the national *jazáil* and *chârah*, and sword and shield, with a sprinkling here and there of Enfield and Snider rifles, carried off by deserters on the break-up of Sher Ali's government, and the dispersion of his soldiery. They were the same hardy, courageous, patriotic, and ferocious warriors as of yore, and showed no inclination to acknowledge the British superiority in arms.

As to the British troops, the European—though constituting a far greater proportion of the entire force than in the first Afghan war—was decidedly of inferior physique and powers of endurance; but he was armed with the best weapon of the day, the Henry-Martini rifle, true to 1,200 yards range. The native soldier, whether the Bengal, Bombay, or Madras sepoy (for they all took part in the war), each in successive gradation was inferior in physique and strength to the old stamp of Purubiya (discarded since the Mutiny), but he was better armed—with the Snider rifle. The artillery was all rifled and breech-loading, and infinitely more powerful than any previously known; whilst the cavalry were stronger than ever, with the breech-loading carbine and improved mountings.

At the outset of the war, when the British troops, thus armed, were opposed by Sher Ali's disciplined regiments, armed with the Enfields and Sniders, and served by the modern artillery with which, in the days of their friendship, the British had presented the Amir, they speedily defeated and dispersed them, and carried everything before them with irresistible force. But when the regular Afghan troops—disciplined in imitation of our army—were no longer an organized body; and the opponents of the British soldier in the field were the patriotic armed clansmen of the nation, with no sort of acknowledged tactics other than what instinct prompted at the moment, the unmeasured superiority of our arms, discipline, and science hardly came up to the standard of decisive results that was naturally to be expected, and on several occasions the

British troops were forced to fight on the defensive; whilst throughout the campaign the British authority in the country was limited to the ground actually held by their troops.

The operations of the British troops against the Afghans were, to be sure, trumpeted aloud by newspaper correspondents with the army in no uncertain strain, and doubtless conduced to the self-gratulation and pride of the nation, if not also to the overweening conceit of the military commanders. But by the calm and unbiassed observer they were viewed more soberly from the standpoint of practical utility, the means employed, and the results obtained. To the mere civilian, looking at the vast superiority of armament, the exact discipline, and the reckless expense on the one side, and at the antiquated arms, the irregular order, and the strict economy on the other, the direct results of the British military operations appear altogether absurdly inadequate; whilst some of the most important of the military arrangements in the course of the campaign, even to his unprofessional eye, provoked a criticism in no sense complimentary to the skill or science of the professed soldier. To the military expert, viewing the subject from the same standpoint, there would naturally be a tendency to exaggerate the difficulties of field service on strange ground, against a barbarous enemy; but even in his view several glaring mistakes and inexcusable neglect of ordinary military precautions are acknowledged to have detracted largely from the credit of good generalship in this campaign.

The various prompt movements and successful fights of the British in the advance towards Kabul were represented by the newspapers with a glamour that—whilst it threw into the shade the equally meritorious proceedings of the forces employed towards Kandahar—diverted attention from the realities of the case, and produced a wrong idea of the nature of our victories and a false estimate of the actual capabilities of our troops; and nobody paused to

reflect how matters would have gone had the enemy been on a par with our own troops in arms, organization, and science. But the subsequent experiences of our forces in Afghanistan, and the defensive attitude they were so often driven to adopt in face of attacks by the armed peasantry, soon gave cause for very serious reflection on the various bearings of so important a matter.

In the first Afghan war of forty years before, the British troops, armed with "Brown Bess," marched about the country and fought the tribesmen—armed then as now—in small or large detachments of Native troops commanded by a captain or a colonel. But in this war of 1878 80, our military expeditions against recalcitrant clansmen were undertaken with nothing short of a brigade of all arms—European and Native—armed with the Martini and Snider and rifled cannon, and yet with less uniform success than fell to the lot of the Sepoy detachments in the earlier war. The check our troops met with in Chardeh, and the ensuing successes of the enemy (without cannon or cavalry, but in overwhelming numbers, to a large extent armed only with pike and knife, and with a goodly sprinkling of unarmed followers) at Kabul itself in the Aoshar and Asmâi affairs, leading to the immediate investment and siege of the British force, 7,000 strong and with a powerful artillery, in the Sherpûr cantonment in December, 1879—a siege happily raised a week or so later by the more attractive and profitable plunder of the city and consequent dispersion of the enemy with their booty—recalled to mind the Kabul revolt and the incidents of December, 1841, when the British entrenched camp, on the very site of the walled and fortified barracks of the Sherpûr cantonment, was besieged by the rebels, intent, not on plundering the city, but on expelling the invader. And comparing the two parallel events, one can now justly treat with lenient criticism the failure of the British force—4,500 strong, armed with "Brown Bess" and smooth-bore muzzle-loading cannon—not to quell the revolt, for that in the

circumstances of their case was an impossibility, but to hold their camp under the heights of Bimaru (now included with the Sherpûr cantonment), occupied by the enemy, against the determined assaults of the hosts of an uprisen people.

In the Kabul revolt the British General was subordinate to the superior authority of the political chief; and the political chief was so entangled in the toils of negotiation with the rebel chiefs—not one of whom had he in his power—that even those inclined to assist the British were helpless to aid them in this crisis of their affairs. Moreover, communications were cut off on all sides, without a prospect of succour from any quarter. In the Sherpûr siege the British General held the supreme authority, military and political; and he held moreover, fortunately, the most influential chiefs of the place and principal officers of the late Afghan Government in his own hands as prisoners in his own camp, whilst communications were not entirely cut off, and succour was speedily received from the division at Jalalabad.

What would have been the result if the plunder of Kabul had not demoralized and dispersed the besiegers of Sherpûr cantonment, it is impossible to guess; for the defenders had but 300 rounds of ammunition per man left, and the Eastern Ghilzai tribes were ready to join the movement against us, headed by Muhammad Jan (the *ci-devant* colonel of artillery in Sher Ali's army), had it continued but a few days longer. The timely arrival of re-inforcements, however, hastened the departure of the last of the besiegers, and matters at once took a more favourable turn. The city was quickly re-occupied by the British, and order restored after a fashion; though our authority in the country extended nowhere beyond the range of our rifles. It is worth noting that, in the course of these events, one fact —as unexpected as it is remarkable in Afghan warfare— stood out clearly, and that is, that the Afghan warrior, when excited by fanaticism, does not fear the British

soldier—European or Native—or his long-range weapons, but comes boldly on to get at close quarters, when he knows or believes that victory is his. It was so in the various actions in Chardeh and about Kabul leading to the investment of Sherpûr. It was so at Ahmad Khel, in the determined attack of the Ghilzai clansmen upon General Stewart's division marching from Kandahar to Kabul. It was so also in the defeat and destruction of our troops at Mywand, and in the ensuing siege of Kandahar itself. On all these occasions, except at Mywand, where Ayub Khan employed regular troops of all arms, infantry, cavalry, and artillery (though even here the bulk of his force was composed of the tribesmen of the country), the enemy were the armed peasantry of the country, with no cavalry, no artillery and no organization, but with over-abounding fanaticism.

An immense fuss has been made about the march of the division—specially prepared and equipped for the duty—which, as the closing performance of our military operations in Kabul, proceeded quickly a distance of 300 miles, at the rate of fifteen miles a day, from Kabul to the relief of Kandahar, and there defeated and dispersed the Herati force of Ayub Khan; as if, after all the extraordinary preparations made for the purpose, nothing out of the ordinary was to be expected. The force was undoubtedly a splendid body of picked troops—soldiers such as any nation would be proud to own—and it did its work right well; but it was nothing more than was to be expected, considering the means employed, and certainly needed none of the claptrap and puffing that has been expended upon it. No such fuss has been made, nor indeed more than very ordinary notice taken, of the far more arduous march of the division which a few months earlier marched from Kandahar to reinforce the army at Kabul, on account of the continued turbulence in Kohistan, and the menacing attitude of Sher Ali's governor in Balkh, who had with him a strong division of the late Amir's army, but chiefly on account of Abdurrahman's appearance on the Balkh

frontier—where he was speedily joined by the governor with his troops—as claimant of the throne of Afghanistan. Nevertheless this division, by the signal punishment of the enemy at Ahmad Khel, so effectually pacified that part of the country that the clansmen had no notion of again trying conclusions with the later division marching over the same ground on its way to Kandahar, and it passed on in no way disturbed.

The Kabul division of picked regiments, specially equipped for the march to Kandahar, was 10,000 strong (including a strong cavalry brigade and three mule batteries), with nearly as many camp followers, and upwards of 8,000 transport animals—all mules and yaboos—under a strong staff of transport officers. The division was preceded a day's march ahead by an influential officer and party of subordinates appointed by the new Amir (for Abdurrahman was no ways averse to any attempt on our part to break up the increasing popularity and success of Ayub, his only rival in the country now) to procure supplies and clear the road of obstruction; which last part of their programme they performed by telling the tribesmen that the Amir was sending this party of the infidels out of the country by the way of Kandahar, and that if they stirred from their homes to disturb them, by so much as even throwing a stone, they did so at their peril. "It is the Amir's command!" and the magic words took effect. The division in fact swung along in fine style, as was to be expected under such conditions, and met no difficulty of any kind throughout the march. On arrival at Kelati-i-Ghilzie they learned from the garrison (a detachment from Kandahar) holding that fort that the siege of Kandahar had been raised by Ayub, who had withdrawn his army to the Argandab valley, a few miles to the northward of the city. The swarms of armed peasantry who had flocked to Ayub's standard after his victory at Mywand now, on the near approach of reinforcements converging on Kandahar from the north and south, quickly dispersed to their

homes; and the ensuing operations against Ayub were undertaken without delay, the strength of the British army now at Kandahar enabling the General in command to assume the offensive with a well-provided force numerically stronger than that commanded by Ayub. The attack on the enemy's position was promptly and skilfully planned, and as rapidly carried out on the 1st of September, 1880, with a vigour that ensured speedy success. The enemy, after a brief stand at Pir Pymal, were defeated and put to flight, abandoning their camp at Mazra, with all their tents, baggage, and the whole of their artillery, to the victors; but Ayub and his army escaped us scot free.

Considering the course events had taken at Kandahar since the disaster at Mywand on the 27th July preceding, the victory at Pir Pymal shone out conspicuously as a fitting close to the operations of our armies in Afghanistan prior to their impending evacuation of the country in which they had met such varied experiences, both at Kabul and at Kandahar. In regard to the latter, it should be borne in mind that in criticizing the conduct of affairs by the military authorities there due allowance should be made for the difficulties of their situation. The siege of Kandahar, with its British garrison at that time of 4,000 men, was in no way comparable with the far less serious state of affairs in the investment of Sherpûr, with its British garrison of 7,000 strong; because the latter had the place to themselves, whereas the former were shut up with the city population, a large portion of which was declaredly hostile to them. The defenders of Sherpûr, though nearly twice as numerous as those of Kandahar, had a smaller and more compact position to hold, and entirely free from risk of internal attack or treachery. No such advantages obtained with the weak garrison of the large walled city of Kandahar, which, with enemies in their midst, had a far more perilous and arduous task before them. In both cases the enemy withdrew and raised the state of siege on the near approach of reinforcements, and then in both in-

stances the British troops quickly retrieved their honour and safety. Though that such mishaps as the investment of Sherpûr and the siege of Kandahar should be possible with organized troops, armed and disciplined as were the British forces in Afghanistan, is, considering the arms and ignorance of the enemy, somewhat surprising, and may well afford food for serious reflection.

Immediately after the Kandahar division left Kabul, the remainder of the force at the latter place marched away (11th and 12th August, 1880), on its return to India; and the Amir Abdurrahman at once took possession of our abandoned cantonment, and the various fortified positions our engineers had erected about the city, all of which were now handed over to him in thorough order, with a supply of arms and ammunition, and a round sum of twenty lakhs of rupees to start him fairly in his government. His first act, after the departure of the British, was to seal up the country against communication on the side of India, and the next to search out the partisans of Sher Ali, and those who had assisted the British during their occupation of Kabul. The first were blood-feud enemies; the others, fair game to squeeze for the ill-gotten wealth amassed from the rupee-scattering infidel. For it was a common saying with the Afghans in respect to our way of waging war: "This is not war; this is playing with rupees." And doubtless Abdurrahman wrung out a goodly proportion of the many lakhs our politicals had distributed here, there, and everywhere; and to what good purpose our military commanders perhaps can say. Anyhow, the unfortunates who assisted the British, and could not quit their homes with the retiring invaders, had a sorry time of it at the hands of our new friend, the most superior and intelligent Afghan our politicals had ever had to deal with. Ay, and the most shrewd and masterful as well.

With Abdurrahman installed as Amir at Kabul, and our armies on the march back to India, the third Afghan war came to a close. The first Afghan war was an unjust,

unprovoked, unpolitic, and unnecessary aggression by the British Government, and ended in disastrous failure; they ousted and sent into captivity an independent prince who had done us no injury, but desired only our friendship and alliance; they put in his place, under British tutelage, an effete puppet, who perished in the midst of our own disasters, and then replaced the very ruler they had dethroned; and, though amicable diplomatic relations were ultimately established between the Government of India and the wronged prince, the war produced no other result, as between the British and the Afghan peoples, than a lasting hatred and suspicion each of the other. And all this at a cost to the revenues of India of twenty millions of money. The second Afghan war,—short sharp, and decisive,—was undertaken against the son and appointed successor of the prince we had dethroned in the first war. Having at first abandoned his cause, the Government of India afterwards, on his establishing his authority independently of their aid, took him by the hand and made him powerful, and then by mismanagement drove him to enmity. His flight and death brought the war to an early close. The third Afghan war was but a renewal of the second, and the two together cost the revenues of India another twenty millions. The war was renewed to avenge an act of grievous treachery under the commencing rule of the son of the preceding prince (whose power we had destroyed but a few short months before)—a broken-spirited and incapable ruler, whom the Government of India had set on the throne only to dethrone and deport as a political prisoner. The punishment dealt out threw the country into anarchy, and destroyed all semblance of government, which the British did nothing to re-establish; till at last, weary of the confusion they had created, and averse to further complications, the Government grasped at a new claimant, set forward by a rival Power as the rightful heir to the vacant throne, and eagerly making him their own choice, abandoned the country unconditionally to his power, on a

mere verbal understanding of friendship; which friendship on their part has been steadily importunated by large grants of money and arms, by a subsidy of a lakh of rupees a month at first, to be doubled, trebled, or quadrupled in prospect, and by a moral support of so very lenient a character as to bear more the semblance of subserviency; which friendship on the part of Amir Abdurrahman has been steadily granted just in the degree it has been paid for. He has certainly abstained from any act of overt hostility against his very liberal paymasters; he has received and protected a very numerous staff of extravagantly equipped Boundary Commissioners, at an equally exorbitant charge for the favour; but he has shown no cordiality, nor any desire for a *rapprochement* that does not yield rupees. At what limit the Amir's appetite for Indian rupees will rest satisfied, and at what limit the Government of India will stop the supply from inability to continue it, are curious problems awaiting solution. These three Afghan wars, what with military expenses, political disbursements, State subsidies, and pensions to exiled princes and chiefs, have already cost the revenues of India a good fifty millions of pounds sterling, and have yielded in return the acquisition of two undoubtedly valuable positions, dominating the interior of the country, but have left the people and ruler as independent and out of hand as ever.

As soon as Abdurrahman had been acknowledged as Amir, the governor whom the British had established at Kandahar, the Wali Sher Ali Khan—there being a long-standing family feud between the two—found his position no longer tenable without the support of a British garrison, and as this was not forthcoming, he soon resigned his position, and retired to India as one more costly addition to the host of pensioners thrown upon the support of the Government of India by the events of the war. Ayub, too, after his crushing defeat at Kandahar, fled to Persia, where he was interned as a pensioner at the cost of the

British. And thus Amir Abdurrahman soon obtained in its integrity the country he came to claim—the Afghanistan consolidated by his grandfather, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan. On the instalment of Abdurrahman as Amir at Kabul, a large number of the members of the late Amir Sher Ali's family, together with chiefs and government officials, who had taken a prominent part as his partisans during the civil war of 1864 69, now sought safety in exile, and quitted their homes with the retiring British army, and with a prudence of foresight that was not belied. For the new Amir had no sooner settled down to his government, than he set to work to eradicate all possible chances of its internal disturbance; and a reign of terror ensued which has not yet, after a decade of endurance, entirely ceased.

The vigilance with which Abdurrahman closed all communication with India, except such as he himself chose to permit, rendered it most difficult to learn anything of what he was doing; and though, by agreement with the Government of India, he received a Native Agent at Kabul, and appointed one of his own in return with the Viceroy, the information obtainable by these channels was of the most meagre and unsatisfactory description. It was known, however, that on one side were continuous communications with Russian agents, and on the other repeated assurances of friendship, coupled with large expectations of money to enable him carry on his government; and all the time a diligent removal of obnoxious persons and coercing of merchants for money,—by the lopping of heads, imprisonment, and torture, by confiscations of property, and extortion of fines,—was carried on to an extent that paralyzed trade and made his very name a terror. The parallel deeds of Theebaw, the Burman king, so loudly denounced by the British when they decided to annex his rich country, were thrown into the shade by the atrocities of our Amir Abdurrahman, who, as the Government did not desire to annex his poor country,

they in the same breath belauded as a firm and strong ruler; although he was hunting up and executing as traitors all he could seize of those who had helped us during the war. Abdurrahman having thus secured himself at home by the destruction of his own enemies and of our partisans, and being assured of the friendship of the British, was now at leisure to give attention to their business with him in regard to the delimitation of the north-west boundary of his country. The settlement of this boundary had been a subject of diplomatic correspondence between the British and Russian Governments prior to the accession of Abdurrahman to the throne of Afghanistan, and the opportunity was now taken to bring the matter to a final settlement. The Amir's friendly reception and protection of the numerous staff of British officers, with their military escort and followers, forming the Afghan Boundary Commission, was secured (in 1883) by the payment of the handsome monthly subsidy of a lakh of rupees, whilst the money so freely spent by the Commission itself rendered them, as guests of the Amir, very acceptable visitors amongst the tribes of that frontier, who had no national antipathies nor personal grievances against the British. The *rapprochement* at this time between the Government of India and the Amir of Afghanistan was closer than at any previous period since the instalment of Abdurrahman in the rule of that country; and the opportunity was seized to invite him to meet the Viceroy of India for the purpose of strengthening the alliance and *entente cordiale* between the two Governments. The meeting between Lord Dufferin and Amir Abdurrahman took place at Rawalpindi, in April, 1885; but of the nature of the business transacted on this occasion nothing has, up to the present time, been revealed. Not, it is said, because there was nothing done in the way of a settled understanding, nor because what was done would not bear the light, but because, and perhaps very properly so, it was deemed essentially expedient that this trump card in the

game of Central Asian politics should be held as the winning cast.

Be this as it may, the reticence of the Government did not check the curiosity or prevent the speculations of its subjects and tax-payers. By those who pretended or were supposed to be in the secrets of Government it was self-complacently asserted that the British Government had gained all that it desired, and now held the Afghan Amir in the hollow of its hands. But by those who enjoyed no such advantages, and could judge only from the outward semblance of affairs, it was feared that the astute Amir had got his British negotiators pretty firmly under his heel, and had drawn another big haul out of the by no means very full Indian treasure chest. Now, whatever the nature of the agreement or compact made and signed at this meeting in 1885, it is quite clear from the course of the subsequent diplomatic relations between the shrewd potentate of Afghanistan and the hopeful Government of India, that those relations have not proved to be exactly such as the Government of India could consider as at all satisfactory. It was known at the time that the Amir came to Rawalpindi, that his mind was inflated with a portentous expectation of rupees— the coin which, seemingly, was the principal commodity and accommodation he required at our hands. His friends gave out that when Abdurrahman was approaching Kabul to claim his throne, he had been promised—or so understood it—a sum of five krors of rupees (five millions of pounds sterling), to establish him peaceably in his government as an ally of the British. Incredible as this is, there is no doubt that Abdurrahman has, ever since his connection with us, evinced an eager desire for our money, and has doled out his friendship only in proportion to our advances of it.

It is now proposed to largely increase the large subsidy the Amir Abdurrahman has enjoyed during the past seven years since 1883, from the Government of India; and it is to be hoped that with this addition to his regular stipend,

and the large sums previously lavished on him, the British Government will at last get in return for their large outlay from the revenues of India something tangible in the way of material advantage to our at present unsatisfactory position in relation to the control of the country he rules as the friend of both Russia and Great Britain. If the Amir Abdurrahman, with his friendship divided between the two great rival Powers of Asia, is really willing and able now to join the British heartily and honestly in opening out the country he rules by means of railways, extended from Peshawur to Kabul, and from Quetta to Kandahar and Herat, as the first step to a really profitable commerce, and a real community of interests, then we can well afford to help him handsomely to maintain order in his country. But if his allowances are to be increased unconditionally merely on a more loudly protested friendship, without some show of its reality by an earnest acquiescence and active participation in carrying out the British programme, then any more grants of rupees made to him will be merely so much more money thrown away.

Perhaps, in this commercial age, it is more profitable to buy our way into the country than to fight our way into it, particularly considering the way we wage war, or at least have hitherto waged war in Afghanistan; and more particularly considering the fact that we handed over to the Amir Abdurrahman a Kabul more strongly fortified—by ourselves—than the place had ever been before. But whatever the British Government may now do to secure the paramount influence in Afghanistan, it must fall short of what was to have been realized had we annexed and settled the country once for all twenty-five or even twelve years ago. By this time, under such periods of British rule, interests would have been created to bind the Afghans to British rule, similar to those that now bind the people of India to it. Not, to be sure, from any sentiment of love or respect for their British rulers, but purely from motives of self-interest and of attachment to the Government, which

here, as wherever else it has taken root, has brought them peace, plenty, and security. It is useless, however, at this hour of the day to dwell on the advantages conferred by the British rule, and on the lost opportunities of extending it in this direction, when 'time presses forward with increasing strides to the day of settlement. Whether the British will now be permitted to settle Afghanistan in their own interests as masters of India, without disturbance by rival powers claiming a share in the possession of the country, is a point which the not distant future will assuredly show forth. And if our next warfare in Afghanistan is to be against troops equally well armed and organized as our own, and manœuvred, too, with European science, we must be prepared to face difficulties infinitely greater than any our armies have had to encounter and overcome in our previous warfare in that country. And if our previous wars in Afghanistan have proved costly, troublesome, and difficult, and a serious strain upon the resources of India in money, men, cattle, and food,—notwithstanding the allowance to be made in respect to the altered conditions of difficulty affecting some of these items, on account of the facilities afforded by the development of our Indian railway system up to the frontier of Afghanistan,—any future war in that country against a European rival will assuredly prove tenfold more costly, troublesome, and difficult. And if we mean to command success and respect for our arms, it will be necessary to make some important changes in our method of doing things. It will not do to purchase our supplies at eight or ten times the market rate and then pay for the carriage to our camp. It will not do to purchase the goodwill of district nobles and local chiefs and then to allow their people with impunity to harry the roads and murder our soldiers, and followers falling out from the ranks or venturing beyond our sentry lines. Most of our troubles in Afghanistan were due to our loss of respect in the eyes of the people from an incomprehensible disregard of the prompt and obvious measures necessary to be taken

on our part to stop once for all any repetition of such evidences of hostility, by an exemplary punishment of the responsible chiefs.

Difficulties of this kind are, however, easily to be overcome by a proper change in our tactics. But it is not so with the difficulty of expense. It is the expenditure on our armies which will be the crucial test of our final success. If Russia is to be our enemy in the next Afghan war—which is generally believed to be now more imminent than ever—she can ruin us in India by the adoption of tactics prolonging the war beyond the endurance of the Indian revenues, considering the little expense of her system of warfare as compared with ours. It is not our purpose to enter upon any consideration of the military capabilities of the two rival nations—Britain and Russia—upon the battlefield of Afghanistan, especially as the war would not be confined to the limited area of that country. But it is well to bear in mind, what history has so often proved, that wealth, luxury, and extravagance, with their products—sentimentality, hypocrisy, and pretended philanthropy—are not the qualifications calculated to fit a nation for successful warfare against the want, the hardiness, and the thrift of the barbarian, with his brutality, enthusiasm, and earnestness of purpose. Yet such is the prospect looming ahead.

For more than fifty years past it has been the steadily avowed policy of the British Government, in regard to Afghanistan, to maintain the integrity of the country as an independent State in friendly alliance with itself, and subordinate to itself alone in its foreign relations. In pursuance of this policy, the British in 1839-40, went to war with Persia for the independence of Herat, and at the same time with the Amir of Kabul, Dost Muhammed Khan, in favour of the Shah Shuja'. After the failure of the Shah Shuja' experiment, they restored Dost Muhammed to his country, and in 1855 established friendly relations with him as Amir of Kabul, Balkh, and Kandahar. Two years later they again went to war with Persia for the independ-

ence of Herat, and at the same time confirmed the existing amicable relations with Dost Muhammed by a treaty of friendship and alliance, accompanied by moral and material support in the shape of an embassy, and gifts of arms and ammunition, and the grant of a handsome subsidy. With such aid and the countenance of the British, the Amir Dost Muhammed, was enabled to annex (in 1863) Herat to his rule, and thus to consolidate the country as an independent State under the government of a single chief. The death of Dost Muhammed occurred shortly after this event, and then ensued the Afghan civil war of five years duration, between his sons for the Amirship. In this contest the British Government abstained from interference in the internal affairs of the country, until Sher Ali Khan, the late Amir's appointed heir and successor, finally succeeded in recovering his rights, and, in 1868-69, re-establishing himself at Kabul as Amir. The British Government now extended to him the hand of friendship, and by a freely granted support soon made him the most powerful Amir Afghanistan had yet seen. Ten years later the British went to war with their intractable *protégé*; and Sher Ali, flying his capital to seek the promised aid of Russia, was cut off by death on the frontier of his own territory in that direction. His son, Ya'cub Khan, now succeeded to the rule, but having no excuse of quarrel, or desire to continue hostilities with the British, he was immediately accepted as the new Amir of Afghanistan; a treaty of friendship and cession of territory was at once concluded, and Ya'cub Khan was confirmed as the Amir with a British Envoy at his capital, in July, 1879.

The Amir Ya'cub was hardly settled down to the new order of things in the Afghan Government when a mutiny amongst his troops at Kabul led to the attack and destruction of the British Embassy, and the sudden collapse of the Amir's authority, and the break-up of his Government. On this the war was immediately resumed, and Kabul and Kandahar were again speedily occupied by British armies.

Now followed a period of indecision as to the final disposal of the country, which, amidst the numerous candidates for our favour and the throne, lay upon our hands without a ruler, and with all semblance of orderly government completely destroyed; whilst constant hostilities with the people, impatient of the presence of our troops in their country, only quickened the desire of the British to be quit of their troublesome burden. In this dilemma, Abdurrahman Khan issued from his asylum with the Russians and entered Afghanistan, with a rapidly increasing force, as the rightful Amir, and heir to the independent State consolidated by the Amir Dost Muhammed Khan.

Overtures were at once made by the British for the unconditional transfer of Kabul to his authority as a friendly neighbour, as the time fixed for the withdrawal of the British forces was nigh at hand. Abdurrahman took the offers made to him with leisurely composure, and, whilst summoning the tribes to be ready to join his standard, plainly informed the British that although he desired their friendship, he had also obligations of gratitude to his Russian patrons, and that it was his hope to live in peace under the joint protection of Russia and Britain. With these frank avowals on his lips, Abdurrahman was not considered less eligible, but was considered even more eligible for the Amirship, on the ground that by the diplomatic understanding come to between the British and Russian Governments, the latter was pledged to abstain from interference in the politics of Afghanistan, as a country acknowledged to be beyond the sphere of Russian interests. And so—at a moment of pressing exigency in regard to our military position in the country—the British, without loss of time, proclaimed Abdurrahman as Amir, and, by way of friendship, gave him a large sum of money to meet his immediate wants; and, as a further token of confidence, transferred Kabul to him, together with all the new fortifications erected by our engineers—handed over intact as evacuated by our troops.

By this acknowledgment of Abdurrahman—the avowed friend of Russia and of Great Britain—the British Government made a notable departure from the policy they had steadily pursued during the preceding half-century of their relations with Afghanistan, and supported by a succession of costly wars and long years of subsidies. Heretofore the British had succeeded in keeping the Afghan Amirs, each in succession, by treaty engagement, as the friend of their friends and the enemy of their enemies, and moreover subordinate to British control in respect to their foreign relations. But now, with an Amir of Afghanistan who is an avowed friend of Russia as well as of Great Britain, these advantages no longer obtain, and the political relations between the British Government and the Afghan Amir must necessarily be based upon other considerations and conditions. The meeting at Rawalpindi in 1885 between the Indian Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, and the Afghan ruler, Amir Abdurraman, may have settled matters on a new basis; but from the course taken by diplomatic relations between the British and Afghan Governments since that event, the arrangement then made, whatever its nature, has not answered the expectations of the Government of India. It is indeed impossible to work satisfactorily with a middleman whose interests are divided between his two great rival neighbours, and the day cannot be far off when the two principals must deal directly together for the final settlement of the line up to which each is entitled, by his position in Asia, to extend his authority. How this question is likely to be settled is a matter of speculation; but we must remember that the countries draining to the Oxus and Herat rivers are not Afghan soil, and this fact will probably be utilized to some purpose in the final settlement of the Afghan Amirship.

H. W. BELLEW.

PORTUGAL AND ENGLAND IN AFRICA.

PART II.

WELL informed of our military disorganization, Great Britain saw that, if the time had not yet arrived for forcing the Tagus, owing to the possible opposition of other nations, the moment was propitious for seizing the maritime ports beyond the seas which belong to Portugal, in Western and Eastern Africa, such as St. Vincent, Lorenzo Marquez, etc.

There she had collected her available ships in more than sufficient number for a *coup de main* after the ultimatum of the 11th of January, 1890. However, we did not cede to the threat of the squadrons of powerful England. We ceded to the coalition of Europe for the partition of Africa.

The strength of nations does not solely consist in the force of armies and navies. It also consists in good sense and the necessary composure to guard the interests of the fatherland. To accept a challenge would be to lose Africa: it would be national suicide.

Diplomatic relations were once more renewed; but this time under circumstances deplorable to the last degree. The acquisitiveness of the English public loudly demanded from its Government the fulfilment of unbridled ambitions. The condition of the Lisbon Cabinet was desperate. On the one hand it saw the rising flood of the legitimate aspirations and of the indignation of the Portuguese people, wounded to its soul by the injustice and atrocious insult of Great Britain. On the other hand "the *friendly nation,*" forgetting too easily the most rudimentary principles of international *courtesy*, not satisfied to profit by our slips, went straight to its aim without any feeling of consideration.

The negotiations have been long and sad. The voice which alone had an echo at the Foreign Office was that of powerful British companies. Humanity, civilization, good

faith, argument, were not there; but we found sneering lips, sharp teeth, and voracious jaws.

In Portugal, as elsewhere, party politics profit by public commotions; yet the patriotic movement in Portugal has been and is still as that of ONE MAN, in whom breathes the soul of all; young and old are ready to die for their country; the difficulty is to keep them in check. We are not afraid to fight in Africa. It is easy for us to go to the siege of Troy without Thetis for Mentor and Patroclus as friend; but—we know it well—Paris is hidden behind the statue of the god to launch the arrow which will pierce the heel of Achilles, vulnerable at seaports, in Africa and at Lisbon.

The treaty of the 20th August appeared. The partial recognition of the rights of Portugal is acquired in it at the cost of most valuable concessions. England cut out for herself an African empire in the pink map, and at the expense alike of our real empire and of our more or less theoretical sovereignty. The moment had come for Great Britain to recoup herself for what she had waived to Germany; she connected her dominions of the Lake region with Bechuanaland and the Cape, at the expense of the "hinterland" of Mozambique. By the treaty we are deprived of a great part of Nyassaland, a vast region to the north of the Zambezi up to Barotze, Upper Machonie, Russire, and a part of the Save valley. Nevertheless this has not satisfied the moderate desires of some chauvinistic Englishmen, who wanted to reduce Mozambique to a strip along the sea.

The Portuguese had not in all these countries an effective dominion, but they had the whole stretch as a part of their historical domains, a certainly more valid claim than the more or less conjectural "spheres of influence," which are a sufficient excuse to other nations for making new conquests; but, so far as the English and we are concerned, the former had neither an historical right nor even a theoretical dominion in the territories taken from us.

The English Government recognises by the treaty our

right to a portion of the country of the Amatongas and a vast back country (hinterland) for the province of Angola, of which the Eastern frontiers are fixed by the upper course of the Zambesi, and by the valley way of the Cabompo.

The conditions in which Portugal concluded these negotiations were crushing. The *ultimatum* was equivalent to a capitulation, and Europe regarded as a spectator this too easy victory. She will perhaps one day profit by this lesson in international law, the law of the *primi capientis*, of the *struggle for life*, of political *attavism*, in which civilization is engulfed and whence progress is checked by a return to primitive animalism.

It is all very well to say that European civilization demands a much greater wealth in gold and men than Portugal can command, in order to render profitable the efforts of a ruling nation in such vast and distant regions as those of Portuguese Africa. J. Disraeli said :—

"It is an important principle in morals and in politics, not to mistake the *cause* for the *pretext*, nor the *pretext* for the *cause*, and by this means to distinguish between the concealed and the ostensible motive. On this principle history might be recomposed in a new manner. . . . When we mistake the character of men, we mistake the nature of their actions. . . . In all political affairs drop the *pretexts* and strike at the *causes*; we may thus understand what the heads of parties may choose to conceal."

The *pretext* has been *civilization*; the *cause* is the cupidity and selfish exclusiveness of England. Civilization! . . . . The millions sterling do not suffice for African civilization. As for moral progress, I do not say that London will guarantee it. It is enough to say that Blintyre is responsible for it! In short, England has taken the lion's share. This she has found any easy task, *Victis honos!*

The treaty is also a stratagem to flatter a certain section of the British public, which had already proclaimed *Urbi et Orbi*, the absolute expoliation of Portuguese Africa.

The English would certainly obtain a great part of what

the treaty demands from Portugal if they had not insisted on imposing servility on us. The Portuguese has no mind for low submission. His friends say that he is generous, and often simple-minded. This is why the opposition to the treaty has been absolute throughout the country. I do not deny that party politics have benefited by it, though in the midst of these passionate notes there were also noble vibrations; nor do I deny that some of us defended the treaty. For all that, however, the *motto* was the same, the renewal of international policy. Some accepted the treaty as it was, for they found in it wherewithal to prepare for redress. Alas! The country had been too pro-
prepare for redress. Public opinion with all its might refused foundly insulted. Public opinion with all its might refused to accept the treaty; it became impossible even to discuss it; never before in Portugal has public opinion interested itself in so striking a manner in the affairs of the nation.

It is said that Portuguese anger is short lived. True, we have not enough vindictiveness to be cruel; but we remember injury to the honour of our country, and, like the French, we can be patient till the hour of redress. There are no longer noisy gatherings in the streets; the fever is gone, but the desire to find redress for our wrongs grows from day to day. Our sole thought is the growth of our country, for there will be no second "ultimatum" to fear, once we have a fifth of the material strength of England.

Unable to bear this situation, the Government has adopted the *modus vivendi* (!!). It is the synthesis of the treaty. The frontiers delineated in it have been provisionally recognised. England has obtained the principal concessions. The future is big with grave events. The affairs of the Congo are the corollary of the treaty, both of the *modus vivendi* and of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. Where will it all end?

G. DE VASCONCELLOS ABREU.

ANCIENT COLONIZATION AND MODERN EARTH-HUNGER.

"Is Central Africa worth having?" one of the great questions of the day, has been fully examined by competent experts, from the affirmative as well as the negative point of view. However interesting the discussion of the problem may be academically, it is, at best, of little value; for the great colonizing Powers of the world have already determined to bring it to a practical issue, and its solution can only be evolved in a more or less distant future.

It may not be inopportune, however, to consider whether they are right or wrong in eschewing the lessons taught by the great colonizers of the ancient world, mentioned in Holy Writ. The prophet Ezekiel—one of the ten thousand prisoners carried away with Jehoiachim, King of Judah, after Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem, 588 years before Christ—tells us that as he was with his fellow-captives by the river of Chebar, the heavens were opened, and in a vision the word of the Lord came expressly unto him and bade him take up a lamentation for the "Tyrus of perfect beauty, whose borders are in the midst of the seas." To this Divine injunction we are indebted for a glimpse at a civilization represented by the dauntless mariners and enterprising colonists—known to the Jews as Canaanites, and to the Greeks as Phœnicians—"whose merchants," says the prophet Isaiah, "are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth," and who, possessing the most ancient ethnological record in existence (Gen. x. 15-20), in the dimmest dawn of history, had their habitat on the Syrian coast of the Mediterranean, a sea peculiarly qualified for the development of commerce. Happily for the civilization of that period, they were outside "the sphere of influence" of the Israelites, charged with the task of exterminating kindred peoples, and were thus able to carry out their policy of establishing friendly colonies and profitable emporia for

home manufactures, without succumbing to the insatiate greed for territorial aggrandisement, aptly called earth-hunger, which afflicted nations of old as it does some of the 19th century.

What glorious scenes in the world's history does not the very name of Tyre conjure up!—especially in connection with the great and wise King Solomon, who entered into a treaty of friendship and commerce with Hiram its celebrated sovereign—*not* in the spirit of earth-hunger, but for the nobler purpose of building the Temple which was to be the glory of his reign; a noteworthy event in the history of the Jews as a commercial people, indicating when they began to take a personal interest in foreign countries. It was then that the ports of Elath and Eziongeber, or Akaba, were filled with the ships of the allied nations, and that Phœnician pilots, and such as were skilled in navigation, were commanded by Solomon to go with his stewards and fetch materials for that splendid building. With little effort then can we picture to ourselves the imposing navies of Solomon and Hiram, built of the fir-trees of Senir, with masts of the cedars of Lebanon, oars of the oak of Bashan, ivory benches from the isles of Chittim or Cyprus, with their linen sails, manned by mariners from Zidon, piloted by wise men of Tyre, and well found in every respect, tempting the inhabitants of the various Eastern ports with fine linen, with broidered work from Egypt; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah, emeralds, coral, and agate from Syria; oils and balm from Judah; rich wares, wine of Helbon, and white wool from Damascus; iron, cassia, and calamus or cinnamon from Dan and Javan; brass work from Tubal; horns of ivory and ebony as well as precious clothes for chariots from Dedan and other islands in the Persian Gulf; gold, spices, and precious stones from Sheba—for Ezekiel, speaking of Tyre, says, "thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy mer-

chandise" (Ezek. xxvii. 33). For the conveyance of these wares, Solomon, "the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks" (1 Kings x. 22, 23). The exact site of the country visited is unknown, but presumably it was in India or the Indian Archipelago, judging by the last item of exports.

Though devoted to foreign enterprise, the Tyreans did not neglect home industries; Ezekiel, for instance, tells us that merchants were attracted to their capital "by reason of the great multitude of the wares" of her making. For the protection and development of this trade they, like other commercial peoples, employed mercenaries and skilled artisans wherever procurable, as proved by the prophet in an elaborate list he gives us (Ezek. xxvii. 8-11). Their land trade, consisting of three great branches, namely, the Arabian, the Armenian, and the Babylonian, was carried on by caravans, whose departures and arrivals were regulated so as to fit in with the fairs held on the occasion of the great religious festivals, as it was an essential part of their policy to place commerce under the protection of religion. So stereotyped is the aspect of Asiatic civilization, that the caravan traffic of the present day does not differ from that of Abraham's time. The disregard of the distinction between *meum* and *tuum* is now as characteristic of the children of the desert as it was of their ancient prototypes. The perils of travel experienced by the patriarchs are still rife, and must be circumvented pretty much as they did, in other words, by armed force or by the payment of blackmail to one marauding tribe, as the price of exemption from the exactions and attacks of others. At a reasonable cost, however, and by making judicious arrangements, the Christian tourist can now visit Palestine and other places immortalized in his Bible, free from care and surrounded with comforts; while the pious Moslem, likewise, can make a pilgrimage to Mecca

with ease to himself, and earn the much-coveted title of Hadji, without having to encounter fire and sword and submit to loss of property, as is often his wont when left to his own devices.

Even before the Phœnicians had ports in the Red Sea, merchandise arrived from Southern India and Africa by the Arabian route, *viâ* Aden, which Ezekiel enumerates as one of her traffickers. Marco Polo corroborates this statement, and notes that the Soldan, or chief, of Aden was one of the richest princes in the world, by reason of the profit he made on port dues. Regarding the Armenian, or second branch, little can be gathered beyond what we learn from Ezekiel. Of the three lines of traffic, the most notable was that through Babylon and the Euphrates valley, one so highly valued by King Solomon that he "built the cities of Baalbec and Tadmor (Palmyra) in the wilderness," to enable his subjects to share in its lucrative trade. This famous city, powerful as it was wealthy, gradually lost its prestige, through the folly of its rulers, and became a prey to warlike hordes. Belshazzar, the king thereof, trusting to the strength of his defences, defied even the celebrated Cyrus, whose exploits were then the wonder of the Eastern world, till an awful hand traced mysterious characters on the wall of his palace. "In that night," says the prophet Daniel, "was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain, and Darius* the Median took the kingdom" (Dan. v. 30, 31). Thenceforward the decay of Babylon was rapid; and the prophecy of Isaiah, foretelling its relapse into a wilderness, literally fulfilled.

History teaches us that the ubiquitous Phœnicians had the most intimate relations with their neighbours the Egyptians, a people characterized by a great and refined civilization, attesting the power and cultivation of dynasties

* This refers to Cyaxares, uncle of Cyrus. Darius is not a name, as erroneously supposed, but merely a title, meaning King. It was during this potentate's reign that the coins called Darics, *i.e.* Sovereigns, were made the principal circulating medium of the East.

coexistent with the earliest records of Biblical lore, evidences of which we have to this day in relics pictured on tombs and collected in museums. When Thebes, the city of a hundred gates, was in its glory, the greater part of their trade with Egypt, as with Asia, was overland. They are known, however, to have had settlements in the country during the dynasty of the Shepherd Kings; and authentic records prove that the commercial enterprise of their merchants, located in Memphis when it rose to power, caused the Mediterranean trade of that city to be greatly developed. Commerce, nevertheless, in the Theban era was somewhat restricted; but it revived in its ancient greatness under the Ptolemies, who paid great attention to trade and navigation, especially with India and other parts of the East. Utilizing the Polar Star, while the Greeks still depended on the Great Bear, and guided by Melcath, the national tutelary deity, who vouchsafed his special protection to colonial enterprise, the Phœnicians circumnavigated Africa twenty-one centuries before Vasco da Gama found his way to India, and simultaneously with Pharaoh Neco's abortive attempt to pierce the Isthmus of Suez by way of short cut to that country. Whether they were deterred by the terrors of the "Stormy Cape," as some say, or this incident in their career be a myth, as others aver, there is no record of their having followed up their alleged discovery. Be that as it may, the turning-point to India having fully justified the name of "Cape of Good Hope," given to it by King John II. of Portugal, a grateful world has accepted the alternative and accorded the credit of the achievement to the great Portuguese navigator.

Renowned as the Phœnicians were for their commercial achievements in various parts of Asia, their chief claim to having been the most prominent traders of antiquity, is due to their exploits along the coasts of Northern Africa and in the Mediterranean, where they founded colonies which rivalled Tyre itself in wealth and splendour. Of these the most famous was Carthage, said to have been founded by

Dido, sister of Pygmalion, king of Tyre, nearly nine centuries before Christ, and remarkable for having, in the Punic wars, disputed the empire of the world with Rome. Her commercial policy, however, was far less generous than that of the parent State. The Tyrians, confining themselves chiefly to coasting traffic, were essentially free traders. With the Carthagenians, on the other hand, protection was necessarily in full force; for much of their commerce was derived from the barter of showy trifles for valuable commodities obtained from the barbarous tribes of the interior, and—wise in their generation—they naturally objected to allow outsiders to share in the profit. They were afflicted, however, with an earth-hunger never felt by the true Phœnician, which eventually led them into conflict with Rome; and Cato's historic peroration, "*Delenda est Carthago*," was actually verified when, in 146 B.C., the city was taken and burnt by the Romans.

Both nations successively planted settlements in Spain, attracted thereto by the abundance of precious metals found therein, which they forced the native miners to extract for them. The most important of these was in that part of the country referred to in Scripture as Tarshish, with which there used to be a most lucrative Tyrian traffic, duly noted by Ezekiel, who says, "Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs" (Ezek. xxvii. 12). They then passed between the Pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic Ocean; the Carthaginians, electing to explore southwards, effected settlements in Morocco and Guinea, while the Tyrians, proceeding in the opposite direction, planted colonies in Great Britain and Ireland, where they inaugurated an important tin trade.

When, in course of time, the Romans succeeded to the commercial marts of the Phœnicians, they took no initiative in opening out new trade routes or conserving the old, till their capital was transferred to Byzantium (Constantinople), when the caravan routes were properly attended to and

due encouragement given to trade between Europe and Asia. They were not essentially a trading people; on the contrary, "the ancient policy and habits of Rome were opposed to commercial development; and her landholders, in the high days of her insolent adolescence, denounced both commerce and the arts as business of slaves and freedmen." * Subsequently she changed this policy, and nowhere did the pulse of her mercantile life beat more energetically than in the south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, which had become the nucleus of the commercial activity of the world. Under the ægis of Augustus, free trade spontaneously flourished; yet, says Gibbon, it was reserved for his successors, the Antonines—who opened out new communications with India and China by sea—to make commercial pursuits a source of unity and happiness to the Empire. Prompt action was forced on the latter, owing to the public loss caused by the abnormal prices demanded for goods carried overland from the Far East, which had become indispensable to the luxurious Romans. Under the most favourable circumstances this merchandise could only be procured, at great cost and risk, through the wilds of Central Asia and intervening regions more or less turbulent; and the difficulties of transport were further handicapped by incessant attacks on the caravans by Parthians and other marauders outside the zone of Roman influence. The advisability of procuring goods by sea from the centres of production was therefore apparent; and Rome took up this project most warmly. But she had much to learn; for her sons, though most enterprising by land, were at best only fair-weather mariners, whose timidity and unskilfulness in rough weather made voyages extremely irksome and uncertain. Distance from land, it appears, alarmed them much; and when out of sight of the shore they saw, as Homer tells us,—

> "A length of ocean and unbounded sky,
> Which scarce the sea-fowl in a year o'erfly."

* Merivale's "History of the Romans." London, 1875.

The small vessels, manned by inexperienced sailors, suitable enough for Mediterranean traffic, had therefore to be replaced by larger ships and better navigators, to enable Rome to compete with the Indian and Chinese mercantile marine, which must have turned out ships of prodigious capacity, if, as alleged, they were larger than the leviathans referred to by Marco Polo and other mediaeval writers.

Besides encouraging navigation, there is also reason to believe that the Antonines brought diplomacy to bear on the Chinese in the interests of commerce. According to Celestial annals of that period, it appears there was considerable foreign traffic with Kiau-chi or Hanoi, the capital of Tong King, then actually incorporated with the Chinese Empire. Particular mention is made therein of the famous embassy from Antun, King of Tat'sin—*i.e.*, M. Aurelius Antoninus (161–180 B.C.), in A.D. 166. Though no record of this event is to be found in Latin authors, who never condescended to mention trade, it is worthy of note that silk and other commodities, which had heretofore been so expensive that the rich only could indulge therein, became so plentiful and cheap as to be within the reach of all.

From the very earliest times, the East has exerted a special fascination on the West. To the latter the Red Sea was the legitimate highway to the Indies and Far Cathay; hence the small neck of land that prevented water communication therewith was wont to be denounced as an invidious freak of Nature. Various attempts have been made to counteract this anomaly. Pharaoh Neco's projected canal, for instance, begun in 610 B.C., was abandoned after the lives of one hundred and twenty thousand men had been sacrificed in the attempt. The same fate befell the canal cut by Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.), from Arsinoe, or Suez, to the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, when it was not found so useful as anticipated. Some five decades, however, before the Christian era, his waterway was sufficiently serviceable to enable Cleopatra, after the battle of Actium, to retreat thereby with her treasures. Except-

ing in the year 640 A.D., when Caliph Omar objected to the piercing of the isthmus, the idea seems to have been abandoned till the beginning of the present century, when it was revived by the great Napoleon, but relinquished as impracticable owing to the alleged disparity in the levels of the two seas, as reported by his commission of French engineers. By a rare combination of diplomatic ability, perseverance, energy, skill, and tact on the part of Monsieur de Lesseps, this, at last, became an accomplished fact on the 17th November, 1869, or a little more than two decades ago.

Columbus and Vasco da Gama seemed more inclined to arrive at the goal of their aspirations by round-about routes, than waiting, perchance in vain hope, for such a solution of the Gordian knot. The former failed, but was amply compensated by finding in the West a splendid continent which furnished a glorious field for commercial undertakings. The latter succeeded, and provided an equally important scope for Eastern enterprise. Both of them gave an extraordinary impetus to colonization. Eminently sympathetic and philanthropic, both would fain have adopted the Phœnician policy in dealing with the countries they discovered—which consisted in establishing trade marts on the coasts, without attempting the conquest of the interior; but, forced to bend to circumstances, they involuntarily posed as active promoters of an earth-hunger development, characterized by results the most appalling, which their apologists attempt to justify by quoting the somewhat threadbare aphorism which does duty in such cases. What happened in the New World being beyond the scope of this paper, suffice it to note that the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English, successively followed up Vasco da Gama's initiative by forming settlements in India, which, at different periods, were to all of them a source of glory and of wealth. It was long before the English made up their minds to go into training for this great colonial race. Only, in fact, after the accession of Henry VII. did they feel

the impulse of maritime discovery and commercial enterprise, the germs of which were sown when their merchants attended the markets of Bruges, where the produce of the unexplored North was exchanged for the treasures of the East. Though deprecated by Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese favoured a system of annexation which characterized the policy of most of their successors, on the ground that it was impossible for them to command the commerce unless they shared in the empire of India.

In sixty years they established an empire whose extent and power were marvellous, not the least remarkable of their possessions having been the celebrated island of Ormuz * in the Persian Gulf, once one of the most splendid emporia the world has ever known, and cited as an example of the almost omnipotent powers of commerce, but now nothing but a barren and desolate rock. They might long have enjoyed their magnificent conquests, were it not that, actuated by the short-sighted policy of prohibiting the Dutch from trading with Lisbon, they forced them to seek at the fountain-head the Indian commodities they were wont to find in that city. This brought the latter in direct contact and subsequent conflict with themselves in India, and resulted in their losing their dominions in less time than it had taken to acquire them. Holland has since lost all interest in India Proper, but retains possession of nearly the whole of the Sunda group in the Indian Archipelago. The Philippine islands represent the only remnant of an extensive colonial empire which once belonged to Spain. The Danes were remarkable more for success in religious propaganda than for commercial enterprise. The French, after a long struggle for supremacy with the English, were forced to relinquish nearly all their Indian

* Ormuz, or Hormuz, was probably one of the many isles whence, according to Ezekiel, Tyre obtained merchandise. In very ancient times it was typical of wealth and splendour—hence the Eastern saying, "Were the world a ring, Hormuz would be a jewel in it."—Yule's "Marco Polo," 2nd ed., London, 1875.

settlements, excepting Pondicherry and Chandernagore. The English, therefore, now practically possess the whole of India, with its two hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants—an acquisition achieved, say sympathetic historians, more from the ignorant ambition and flagrant perfidy of the native rulers, than from mere lust of conquest; and while all other European Powers, which have had anything to do with India, have either disappeared or dwindled into comparative obscurity, they have enjoyed a supremely successful career, to which there has been no parallel in the annals of the world. Thus, by tacit consent, it will be seen the English have been allowed to do very much as they pleased in this region.

Immediately after the opening of the Suez Canal, however, the long dormant tendency of the European continent awoke to new life, impelled by an almost insatiable earth-hunger, which could only be appeased by a substantial *pabulum* in the shape of territorial acquisition—a craving which in Italy's *anno dell' ardimento*, or year of adventure, Signor Mancini somewhat euphemistically termed, "the modern pacific crusade in behalf of civilization."* The annihilation of distance, caused by this meeting of the waters of the Orient and the Occident, which brought the Far East, as it were, to her very doors, emphasized the situation, and threatened to interfere seriously with the quasi monopoly hitherto enjoyed by Great Britain. France, Germany, and Italy, aided by grants from their Governments, posed as pronounced exponents of the new departure. Foiled in India Proper, France turned her attention to India beyond the Ganges, and, had it not been for foes in her own household, would probably have founded in the latter an empire rivalling that of the English on the other side of the Bay of Bengal. Missing this opportunity, she took no further interest in the country till 1862, when, in consequence of the persecution suffered by Christians, she annexed Cochin China and Cambodia.

* *Egypt*, No. 14, of 1885.

For two decades she confined herself to these limits; but influenced by the colonial craze afflicting other Powers, intensified by commercial and political rivalry with her neighbours, the English in Burma, she, in 1884, also forced her protectorate on Tongking.

Although Germany sends forth more emigrants than any other European country excepting Britain, and Italy has also long been content to possess colonies in the dominions of other Powers, neither thought of altering this custom till 1884-5, or till after they had been similarly inoculated. By virtue of what in diplomatic language is called an "amicable arrangement" with England, Germany has taken up colonies in West Africa, as well as in a portion of New Guinea, and of the neighbouring islands, now called the Bismarck Archipelago; and in the process of carving out conterminous "spheres of influence" in the portion of East Africa lately divided between the most powerful military nation in Europe and the greatest industrial State in the world, a similar understanding has been arrived at. Italy has taken an enormous slice of the Red Sea littoral, as well as inland regions of Africa. Portugal, again, with much more on her hands than she can control, even in the slipshod fashion characteristic of her African rule, dog-in-the-manger-like, has extended her boundaries into debatable land, to the prejudice of other Powers capable of doing greater justice thereto. These several spheres, secured in a lighthearted fashion, in which the wishes of the dusky owners have been more or less ignored by the intervening whites, are limned large on the map of the Dark Continent, and irresistibly suggest a doubt as to whether they can ever be effectually occupied.

Great expectations have been raised as to their capabilities. It boots not to speculate whether they will be realized or otherwise, as the conditions of the problem are different from anything that past experience can suggest. Though the trade profits of the equatorial regions now

being exploited are admittedly too insignificant to cover the cost of the crudest administration and supervision, enthusiasts hope that,—after the inevitable contest with slavery, cannibalism, and massacre has been carried to a successful issue, and the natives have been taught that the path to social and material comfort and well-being lies through well-ordered industry and peaceful occupation,—they themselves will be repaid for their preliminary sacrifices. They ignore the gloomy prognostications of Sir John Pope Hennessy, Sir Samuel Baker, and others, and prefer to pin their faith on the prophecies of Mr. Stanley and his following, which bear the same relation to the wealth of Ormuz and the Ind, as Lombard Street to a China orange.

The earth-hunger nurseries of the mediæval pioneers of colonization, left as it were to Nature, took generations to arrive at maturity, while those of the nineteenth century, subject to the hot-house-like stimulant of excessive competition, have developed more speedily. "The partition of Europe, of Asia, and even of America, among the dominant races of the world has been," says a writer in the *Fortnightly* for May, "the slow work of centuries; the serious scramble for Africa began only six years ago, and is now nearly complete." The seed sown by the former, when all the world was open to them, "fell on good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundred fold, some sixty fold, some thirty fold." That sowed by the later comers, when their precursors had their pickings, fell as it were by the wayside, on stony places, or among thorns, with results recorded in Scripture. Before this great scramble, when Africa virtually belonged to the Africans, the map of the Dark Continent was nearly all of one hue—the *terra incognita* of cartographers; but now that the white races have more or less ousted the negroes, the different spheres are painted in different tints, and it is, like Joseph's coat, of many colours. England has done much towards this transformation, and has even been

tempted to take off her coat and join in the *mêlée*—somewhat Pharisaically declaring that she is guided chiefly by motives of pure philanthropy, in the cause of religion and civilization, the suppression of the slave-trade, and her duty towards her heirs and successors. With her favourable opportunities for the better development of her South African dependencies; with an Indian trade which has quadrupled in the last thirty years, and since the opening of the Suez Canal has increased in value by about forty-five millions sterling; with her prospective profits in Indo-China and Far Cathay, commanding more than three-fourths * of the Canal traffic, it is very questionable whether the Central African game, offering advantages only in the distant future, is, in a material sense, worth the candle.

With her ponderous ironclads and splendid passenger steamers, driven by screw propellers and complicated machinery, taking the place of the Tyrian galleys and barques of Tarshish, toilfully impelled by Arvad mariners; with her great fleet of trading vessels, laden with the natural products of every clime, as well as the triumphs of skilled invention, infinitely more varied and precious than the freights carried by the navies of King Solomon and Hiram; with the virtual monopoly of the great waterway that links together the hoary past with the youthful present, and seems to foreshadow a future that more than realizes the glories of Tyre as revealed in Ezekiel's vision; above all, with colonies far more valuable than the ancients ever possessed, England can well afford to allow other nations to share with her the gifts provided by the gods, and can make allowance, with perfect equanimity, for the eccentricities of modern earth-hunger.

A. R. MacMahon.

* According to an official report published in *The Times* of 26th March, 1890, the percentage of the most prominent nations using the Canal is as follows: England, 78·91; France, 5·33; Holland, 3·87; Italy, 2·76.

NEW LIGHT ON THE EMIN RELIEF EXPEDITION.

The circumstances under which public opinion became impressed with a belief that, through the suppression of inconceivable inhumanities, it had been induced to accept as heroes individuals whom it should rather have denounced as infamous, are unhappily accompanied by ambiguities which surround the painful conclusion with uncertainty. The mystery thus introduced into the Emin relief controversy, while possibly contributing to check popular indignation pending their solution, has at the same time created a feeling of distrust in regard to the whole question of British African enterprise, so deep and general, as to amount almost to a national calamity.

A suspicion has arisen that, without comprising intentional misstatement, the tardy accusations against certain members of the rearguard have been dictated to a great extent by unrestrained personal resentments, and that, although some of the charges are corroborated by indirect testimony, they are yet unsupported by evidence upon which a condemnation ought to be based. These misgivings are gradually resulting in a conviction, that the whole circumstances of the late relief expedition are far from reflecting credit either on those immediately connected with its organization and execution, or upon the nation which is identified with its operations.

The majority among those practically qualified to form an unbiassed judgment regarding this subject take a more hopeful view of the situation; they watch, however, with concern the state into which public feeling is drifting, foreseeing that it will not only involve injustice towards those who took a disinterested part in the undertaking in question, but also tend to endanger the immediate future of

tropical African development, by discouraging enterprise in the sphere now assigned to British influence just at the most favourable moment for opening up new markets to our trade in this direction.

The following remarks are the outcome of reflections which, during the successive phases of the recent recriminations, have occurred to one who was associated with the whole arrangement of the relief expedition from its inception, who, besides a personal acquaintance with the parties directly connected with it, had also acquired, during a long experience in tropical Africa, a practical insight into the character and habits of the interpreters, carriers, and other natives who accompanied it, many of whom were known to him individually. It may be affirmed that these observations are free from any personal bias; their sole aim is to throw a side-light on a question regarding which public opinion is striving to obtain guidance.

The real history of the Emin relief expedition has been disclosed to the public with more or less accuracy during the recent controversy, but, from the nature of the dispute, the special circumstances which have called forth public criticism have been discussed by each writer from the point of view which supported his own conclusions. It may be well, therefore, to accompany the views here submitted with an account of its operations from the commencement, so far as the questions at issue are concerned with them; but details may be avoided, as it is not proposed to enter, except generally, into the discussion as to the merits or demerits of the rearguard or of purely personal incidents.

Towards the close of 1886, Europe was made aware by the publication of various letters from Emin Bey and from his friend Mr. Mackay, the Uganda missionary, that the last of General Gordon's lieutenants was still maintaining the authority of the Egyptian Government in the southern Soudan, but that, though able for the moment to hold his ground, he was in so critical a position that, unless promptly succoured, there would be considerable danger of his having

to retire, and leave the provinces he had so long defended to the Mahdists. The public conscience in England was still tender on the subject of our abandonment of the Soudan, and suggestions that an expedition should be organized for relieving the governor of the equatorial provinces being very favourably received, a committee was shortly formed for carrying out this object. In the meantime our Government, and that of the Khedive, received full official reports from the garrison at Wadelai, which left no room to doubt that Emin, though anxious to hold his post, would be unable to do so permanently unless either the British or Egyptian Government officially supported his authority. It was feared, however, that the official reinstatement of the Egyptian governor might involve a virtual declaration of war against the Soudanese, and, as the moment was not considered opportune for despatching another costly military expedition in that direction, it was decided to leave the responsibility in the private hands which were willing to assume it. The Egyptian Government undertook to give a subvention towards the relief fund, and also proposed (should the seventy tons of ivory which had been collected at Wadelai on Government account, reach the coast, and the proceeds suffice) to repay to those who had so generously come forward at this difficult juncture, the amount of their subscriptions. Such an offer was obviously incumbent upon that Government under the circumstances; and as there is no reason to believe that the arrangement was imposed by the relief committee, it in no way detracts from their munificent liberality. The principal donors were men advanced in age, of exceptional wealth, and beyond the suspicion of any such meanness as has been implied in the criticisms of certain correspondents. It is true that the donors were all deeply interested in the opening up of tropical Africa, and that some of them were among the proposed founders of the British East African Company; and there can be no doubt that, as practical men, they would look forward incidentally to considerable

advantage resulting to that institution, in the event of the Emin relief expedition fulfilling its objects. But the finger of the most cynical cannot point to a single personal advantage that could accrue to any of them through their association with that undertaking. None of them can ever hope to see the fruits of their exertions for the development of commerce in Africa during their lifetime. The most they can anticipate is, to have the privilege of supplementing their already ample subscriptions by further disbursements, in order to encourage the next generation to carry on the useful work which they so disinterestedly initiated.

Early notice regarding the proposed expedition was despatched to Emin Pasha; and he replied that his difficulties had so increased that, failing immediate and effective support from his Government, he should be compelled to abandon his province. Anticipating that this would not be forthcoming, he accepted the proffered relief, and discussed the routes by which it might best reach him, as well as those which would be open for his retreat. That the relief committee may have erred in deciding on the Congo route is possible; but how many are there who can presume to judge this question? Only the two or three who protested from the first against such a decision; and even these are constrained to admit that circumstances proved too strong for the committee. That it was in deference to the King of the Belgians that they gave way cannot be doubted; but the adoption of the Congo route was essential to the King's plans, and can he be blamed for using the power which circumstances gave him to secure what he believed to be for the best interests of his country? No; if blame there be, it rests with those whose voice approved but whose purse gave no aid towards the relief fund. It might, undoubtedly, have been wiser to have carried out the operations of an expedition so essentially British, by a route and on a scale that would have included permanent advantages for our policy in Africa with success for the main object in view. But the sum available did not suffice

for this; further delay would certainly have proved fatal; and it was impossible, therefore, to act independently of the Congo ruler.

But it is in reference to the "personnel" of the relief expedition that public opinion appears to have been more especially misled. It may be feared that the strictures which have been heaped upon the ci-devant heroes have been often wanting in justice, not to speak of charity. This was perhaps only to be expected in connection with a public dispute which from the beginning was lacking in all judicial safeguards, and wherein the irresponsible criticisms of confessed partisanship were admitted, and even encouraged. It is only just to add, that the sufferers are in a great measure themselves to blame for the bitterness which has been imported into the whole question.

It is impossible to undertake a just consideration either of the accusations against the personnel of the expedition or of the mutual recriminations of some of its members, without according their full weight to the motives which actuated Stanley and his volunteers, as well as to the circumstances under which their services were carried out. In connection with this latter point, the existing condition of the interior of Africa and the peculiarities of its people and climate demand especially a close examination.

Those who from among an immense number of applicants were selected to accompany Stanley, were found after careful scrutiny to combine in a high degree the qualifications which it was considered essential should be possessed by the men who were to aid him in his Herculean task; and there is every reason to believe that the additional members by which this body was afterwards augumented were persons of equal capability. Owing to the almost insuperable difficulties which lay before them, this party had need to show unwavering obedience, courage, and self-sacrifice. Even then they could only succeed if specially favoured by fortune. Notwithstanding, therefore, that species of personal faith which renders individuals calm and confident in

face of the most hopeless circumstances and the most imminent dangers, Stanley, in common with each member of his staff, could not fail to recognise how small was the chance of their passing safely through the ordeal to which they were about to expose themselves.

What, then, were the motives which prompted so large a body of English gentlemen to offer their services on this occasion—men in the full prime of life, and neither adventurers nor persons under any temporary cloud, social or financial? What could have induced men with a recognised position in their own country to resign the comforts of home and the charms of society, and to accept years of voluntary expatriation in order to take a secondary part in an expedition which was to traverse the most deadly wilds and swamps of central Africa, under a chief who was notoriously unsparing of his subordinates, whom they would be bound to obey absolutely, and who, while monopolizing the credit for success, would undoubtedly be entitled to distribute the responsibility for failure? Not profit; for no pay was offered; on the contrary, in addition to bearing their own expenses, their acceptance was in many instances dependant on a considerable contribution towards the funds of the expedition. Not sport; for it was well understood that their leader set his face against the pursuit of game, except where absolutely required for food, when its provision was entrusted to native hunters. Not honour; for they were simple subordinates; and, being unacquainted with the native language and inexperienced in African travel, their chief, who was a passed master in both, would naturally be entitled to the credit, whether for general success or for the valuable discoveries which would probably accompany it. Not literary fame; for they were bound down not to publish a line regarding the expedition until their leader had given to the world the whole history of its travels and discoveries. No! the motive which actuated them was solely a spirit of enterprise, hard to be repressed in those who have been trained to active habits. The thirst for adventure which may lie

at the root of this feeling, is undoubtedly a characteristic, of which the exceptional prevalence in her sons has procured for England her Imperial greatness.

Is it conceivable that persons in the possession of their reason, who had voluntarily made these sacrifices, and whose high character and exceptional fitness had been verified, should, simply from motives of jealousy, ill-temper, and thoughtlessness, have disobeyed their orders, and otherwise acted in a way certain to bring discredit on themselves and on the expedition for which they had suffered so much, and were at the moment hourly exposing their lives? The solution of this question will be greatly facilitated by a review of the circumstances under which the expedition was carried out.

But for the transcendent qualities display by Stanley in administration, but for his unfailing fortitude, his tact in dealing both with friend and foe, and his indomitable perseverance in carrying through operations which he must have recognised, even though he would not acknowledge, to be those of a forlorn hope, the Emin relief expedition must have hopelessly failed. From the moment that its forces had to be divided, it was only the advance column that could be counted on as effective; and it may be asserted that the task he then undertook was almost beyond the power of man to bring to a successful issue. To have succeeded in penetrating nearly 400 miles of pathless forest, such as that of the Aruwimi, even with his undivided force, would have been an operation unparalleled in the history of exploration; but to have traversed it three times in succession with his small and rapidly diminishing caravan, was a feat of daring which can scarcely be appreciated except by those who are able to estimate practically all that was involved in its performance. As events turned out, there is no occasion to consider whether or not the expedition, as a relief, would have had any claims to success had Emin's garrison remained faithful, and prepared as a body to avail itself of the promised succour. We have here to look at the extraordinary

triumph over apparently insuperable difficulties which would have proved disastrous had Stanley's immediate followers failed in supporting him with anything short of the splendid pluck and devotion which they actually displayed. So protracted an ordeal of unceasing physical and mental strain had never previously been passed through with a like result, or accompanied with so matchless an exhibition of fortitude and unswerving fidelity. Without in any way minimizing the degree of influence which their chief's presence exerted in stimulating such devotion on their part, it must be admitted that events had so far justified the wisdom of the relief committee and their advisers in their selection of the staff of the expedition.

In what respect, then, were the officers whose lot it was to remain in camp different from their comrades of the vanguard? There was no previous intention of employing them apart from the general staff; but, five of these being required for a particular duty, they happened to be named for it, Major Barttelot because he was experienced in the work that it involved, the others for no special reason, unless, perhaps, that they were considered likely to show exceptional steadiness in the absence of their chief. It is to the circumstances in which the rearguard was placed that we must look for an explanation of the only real difference which existed.

While the staff of the relief column was in constant active employment, the officers left behind had no change from the daily routine of camp-life. Instead of the adventure of travel which they had anticipated, they found themselves compelled to remain fixed at one spot during the weary months that elapsed before the promised carriers were forthcoming. Instead of a leader full of expedient, they were under a commander whose ideas of military discipline led him to believe that under no contingency was any latitude of action open to him. Even when events took a totally different course to that which had been expected, he thought it his duty to follow his instructions to the letter,

though they might involve remaining idle amid famine, sickness, and insubordination. Disappointment created dissension among the party, so that collective consultation was impracticable. It was impossible for any one unacquainted with the language to deal successfully with the Arabs, who alone could provide porterage; and communications through untrustworthy interpreters were worse than useless. The discipline, moreover, which was enforced was unsuited to a Swahili force; and when the still less civilized Wanyema porters arrived, it simply broke down altogether. The whole deplorable arrangement was, in fact, unfeasible, unless a second Stanley had been available to carry it out.

Those, however, who are practically acquainted with tropical Africa, are aware that there is still something which has been wholly omitted from this discussion. Their experience enables them to recognise what this is; but it is difficult to convey to others any clear idea of its unique importance. If, however, the point can be explained so as to enable the public to appreciate its bearing on the perplexing questions before it, the grave accusations and bitter recriminations of the disputants will be found to wear a different and less sinister aspect than that which hitherto seemed to belong to them.

Inseparable from African travel is a unique and deadly peril, which destroys individuals, ruins entire expeditions, and sows the seeds of dissension among those who appear to have escaped its fatal grasp. The peril referred to here is AFRICAN FEVER.

This is the condition, peculiar to Africa, which has been adverted to as demanding a close attention in connection with the Emin relief dispute. It is, indeed, the principal factor in the ever-recurring misunderstandings and conflicting statements which arise on African subjects, yet it is the least understood of all the circumstances which should have been brought before the public during the recent controversy.

No one in a European country, where illness receives

skilled attention, can realize the effects of the bilious-remittent fever of tropical Africa, accompanied with all the discomforts of the wilderness. To the traveller in that region, however, the undesirable experience is rarely spared. It is not the first or second attack that is most to be dreaded; he dies or recovers, according to strength of constitution. But if he survives, the microbe does so also. Permanently installed in the explorer's liver, it now incubates at intervals; and, though alternate doses of quinine and arsenic may tranquillize, they cannot destroy this microscopic organism. The signs of a fresh incubation vary according to temperament and external conditions; but their most distressing form is that of "suppressed fever," which is apt to affect those who have become acclimated to the disease. By such the prostration and agony of the actual attack is not so much feared as the lasting effects of the chronic condition. The sufferer begins to take gloomy views of life and of his surroundings, not warranted by any actual causes; he is seized with a conviction that his dearest friend is laying deep plans to slight or injure him; in every whisper or private conversation, he sees an insidious attempt on the part of his comrades to ruin his position or character; he may suspect that they have come to the conclusion that he is dangerously ill, or, on the other hand, that he is feigning illness, or even that his reason is giving way. Under these circumstances, every unguarded word or look is construed by him as indicative of the ill-will of which he supposes himself to be the victim. He becomes so sensitive, and broods so deeply over the fancied perfidy, that his rest is seriously disturbed, and each day he rises less refreshed. Yet he strives against showing any signs of weakness, determining that no failure on his part shall assist the designs which are entertained against him. When, despite all his precautions to hide his suspicions from those around him, they become aware that something is wrong, their very endeavours to cheer him, and their marked solicitude for his feelings only lead him to believe that, finding their schemes discovered,

they are altering their tactics, and he will now probably keep a watch over their firearms, or look out for indications of their intention to poison him. Yet all this time he will be reasonable on ordinary matters, and conduct his daily duties as regularly as before; he may still be clear-headed and intelligent in council, and, when among his comrades, may forget his morbid fancies, unless suddenly aroused by some incident. When fully occupied, he will often make light of his gloomy feelings, and own to himself that there is nothing to justify them.

This phase of African fever is probably due to a paralysis of part of the nervous system caused by some specific action of the malarial poison which is not yet understood; it seems to impose on the sufferer a dual existence, the morbid side of which prevents him from distinguishing between imagination and reality. It is apt especially to supervene upon enforced idleness after a spell of active work, particularly when the restraints of camp life follow the excitements of the daily march. A most deplorable feature in this form of fever is its liability to become chronic, or to recur at intervals, until a thorough change of climate has eliminated the most virulent elements of the poison from the system. It is a phase of malaria that is little understood even by the most experienced. Being usually accompanied by the persistence of the sufferer to conceal its presence even from himself, its existence is often difficult to detect; and the most practised observer may fail to determine how far, at any particular moment, the conduct of an individual is affected by its influence.

In considering briefly the alleged shortcomings of Stanley and the officers of his rearguard, neither the circumstances of the situation nor the special condition which has just engaged our attention should be lost sight of. When we examine the strictures on Stanley himself, what do they amount to? That the principal object of his expedition was to annex territory, and to further the ends of the Imperial East African Company. That in dividing his

forces he left the rearguard to its fate, giving them ambiguous instructions in anticipation of their being overtaken by disaster; and that the selection of their commander was due to a desire to get rid of him. That the wreck of the rearguard was caused by his own neglect and want of judgment, and that his censure of the officers was unmerited. To these assertions has been added the accusation that he has misrepresented facts with a view to shield himself from blame.

The leader of the Emin relief expedition had to obey his instructions, and that he did so to the entire satisfaction of the committee has been publicly vouched for. It has been shown that the committee were justified in anticipating that the operations of the expedition would incidentally be favourable to British interests in Central Africa, which the new Company were entitled, by their Royal Charter, to consider as being placed under their special charge. But had they decided that these interests were to form the main object of the expedition, it is certain that a practical man would have declined its leadership, if bound down to the Congo route, which would obviously prevent anything being done towards either exploring the communications or opening negotiations with the tribes lying within the sphere of British influence. It is, however, evident that the adoption of the West Coast route is of itself sufficient proof that the relief operations were in no way subordinated to British interests.

The division of his forces was imposed on Stanley by lack of funds. He should have had at least £20,000 at his disposal on reaching his base of operations. Had he been in a position to expend £1000 per month on extra porters, and to offer Tippu-Tib £100 per month to accompany them, he would probably have carried out his plans intact. His choice of Barttelot for the command of his reserves was clearly indicated as the best under the circumstances, though only Stanley himself could have safely undertaken a task which required an intimate acquaint-

ance with the natives and their language, and with the character of the Arabs. He possibly failed to appreciate the danger to which he was exposing his base; more probably the desperate nature of his own case, and the knowledge that he was about to lead forward a forlorn hope, so dwarfed the responsibility he was imposing on others, that he would have been incapable of accurately weighing their real magnitude. Under such conditions his written instructions may have been wanting in that explicitness which would have accompanied them had he been able to form a clearer view of the future; but on the other hand they should have been quite intelligible to one who was considered fit to be entrusted with such important work.

The nature of his public censure on the rear-guard is the most regrettable feature in connection with Stanley's personal action, as it stirred up the private animosities which led to a deplorable public controversy. That the disaster which wrecked his Reserve was an exasperating mischance to a Chief, that the ill luck came at a moment when he might be well excused for impatience, and that he had just cause to blame those responsible for the irretrievable mischief, admit of no doubt. No military commander would have hesitated to pass a more severe censure on his subordinates in a similar case, whatever the extenuating circumstances. Stanley, however, though possessing the great qualities of a successful general, has been placed by fate in a position where his actions are specially open to popular criticism; and it is therefore unfortunate that in his public record of the failure of his lieutenants he did not put more restraint upon his pen.

There is also something to be said on the other side. Stanley himself is not exempt from responsibility. He was aware of the want of experience which would especially expose his officers at this juncture to be baffled by their Arab friends and native auxiliaries; and he should have foreseen that the climate and the conditions of their situation would subject them to the evils of African fever in its

most baneful form. That he failed to do so at the time, is explained by his own critical position and consequent pre-occupation, and also by the fact that he never spared himself in similar situations. But that he did not make ample allowance for these extenuating circumstances when he came to publish their shortcomings, is probably a sign that he himself was, at the time he wrote, suffering from this terrible phase of the malarial poison. We know that, when these recriminations were commenced, he had been suffering from a protracted recurrence of suppressed malaria; and in allowing himself recently to bring forward personal accusations which are not borne out by reliable evidence, he has an explanation which is not available for some of those who have provoked him to adopt their own weapons.

The only grave accusation is, that inaccuracies are to be found in Stanley's recent volumes. This he probably would be the last to dispute; but that there are intentional mis statements in it, involving injustice to others, cannot be listened to by Englishmen in the absence of anything like proof.

The accusations against Major Barttelot are scarcely less vague. They include several specific acts of savagery which might be summarized under the head of extreme military severity. The fatal omissions of duty with which he is charged would appear equally to have arisen out of exaggerated ideas of discipline. The commander of the rear-guard was notoriously a strict disciplinarian, and he had proved that he could preserve order among native levies and train them to be useful troops. He had, however, no experience of the Bantu races of tropical Africa, with whom firmness must take the place of severity. Even then, without an ever-watchful tact, acquired only by long experience or by natural sympathy, no real influence can ever be retained over these people; they must be treated more as children than menials. To Barttelot, whose personal followers were of an entirely different race, stubbornness and stupidity would probably appear to be the

characteristics of this new section of his force; and his acting on that supposition would inevitably develop those qualities to an extent that might readily drive him to despair. His inexperience led him to adopt the despotism of a soldier instead of the patriarchal authority of a chief, which alone could control them. But this mistake does not account for the prolonged course of absolute brutality with which he is charged, nor for the abnormal relations with his companions. These incidents, in common with the whole history of his command, point to the conclusion that he had fallen an early victim to suppressed fever, and that the resistance of his strong nature to the attack caused his action to appear more like the result of mania than malaria. By the time his comrades observed the symptons of aberration he was too advanced in the morbid state to have listened to advice, and any interference on their part would have been construed as a proof that they were plotting against him. He was doubtless fully prepared to defeat any endeavour to put his authority aside, for he seems to have suspected that some of his lieutenants were in league with the natives against him. Having once come to a conclusion that the situation called for a resort to martial law, his naturally fiery temper, unchecked by ordinary restraints, asserted itself with all the force of a monomania. We have here, in fact, a typical example of the suppressed form of African fever, with such variations from the ordinary symptoms as, from the temperament of the sufferer, would be expected. Nothing short of the watchful attention of a skilled physician could have dealt successfully with such a state; but unhappily there was no second Dr. Parke attached to the expedition. If, instead of blaming the victim, his sad experience teaches, and public opinion will insist, that in all expeditions into the interior of Africa, the European staff shall include a full proportion of medical men, the pain which has been inflicted on the friends of a brave but unfortunate officer will not be wholly devoid of a useful result.

The reflections upon the conduct of the four other officers of the rear-guard are, with one exception, of a negative nature. They are blamed for not appreciating the gravity of the situation and for not protesting against the proceedings of their commander or arresting him in the sinister course he was pursuing. In weighing their conduct at this critical juncture it should be remembered that the fact which principally dictated Major Barttelot's appointment was the influence which he possessed over the comparatively disciplined Soudanese levies, who were under his special command. That they would have supported him to the utmost, in the event of any difference with his comrades, is certain. The comparative inaction of camp life had moreover exposed them equally with their commander to successive attacks of that form of African fever which would render them suspicious and incapable of intervening effectively with the unanimity indispensable for success. The accusation brought against Mr. Jameson can scarcely be entertained on the evidence before the public. The testimony of native interpeters is worthless unless corroborated by responsible European witnesses; and there is nothing in any of the statements of such persons which is irreconcilable with the account given by Mr. Jameson himself, and therefore susceptible of the most charitable interpretation.

With regard to the evidence of native interpreters generally, even when submitted to precautions which a perfect command of their language can alone apply, it is liable to bring about the most deplorable miscarriage of justice, unless subjected to collateral investigation. Native interpreters possess an extraordinary faculty to formulate an apparently connected narrative upon pure invention, and to fabricate the most specious chain of evidence in support of the fiction. Owing, moreover, to peculiarities belonging to the Bantu race, which cannot be entered into here, they are also able rapidly to instruct the witnesses necessary to complete their case, who, though, up to the moment, igno-

ran. of the persons and circumstances proposed to be introduced into the story, will yet readily identify themselves with the *rôle* they are called upon to play. They are, moreover, endowed with a capacity for actually themselves believing the fictions they have constructed; and, even during the most severe cross-examination, their bearing is thus apt to deceive a practised judge, unless means exist for checking the fabrications submitted to him. Rebutting evidence, however, in no way disconcerts them, and, even when the deception is fully exposed in their presence, they will preserve a mien of innocence. In a few days, or even hours, if they find that it is to no one's interest to preserve the fiction, they may become oblivious of their past inventions and be equally ready to swear to exactly opposite statements. This indicates the necessity for putting aside native evidence until it has been sifted by a qualified and unprejudiced scrutator; for if those experienced in this species of deception, and who are on the spot, cannot, without the utmost precautions, guard against being misled by the infinite variety and inexplicable contradictions incident to this remarkable phase of African nature, how can strangers to the phenomenon hope to fathom it?

Should these remarks be deserving of consideration in connection with the pending decision upon the Emin relief dispute, a few words may sum up the whole case.

If the motives of the staff of the expedition were as represented, if the circumstances under which their duties were carried out have been accurately described, and if the conclusions drawn as to the effects of African fever are sound, our criticism of the shortcomings which the recent public discussion has established should be abstract rather than personal, and the individuals themselves might legitimately be reinstated in our estimation.

If this argument has any force, it applies equally to the mutual recriminations of those more or less personally concerned in the controversy.

Has the dispute proceeded too far for reconsideration on

these grounds? Surely not, as regards the graver accusations; for, as none of these are supported by any real evidence, a chivalrous treatment in their case would probably be also the most just. It is evident that the prolongation of these differences will injure the good name of England as well as arrest her interest in Africa which the relief expedition has done so much to awaken; and it is to be feared also that it may incline the nation, collectively, to relinquish to other countries the fruits of those important discoveries the prior right to which has been secured for it by international agreement.

It is to Stanley especially that the credit of these discoveries is due; and any reflections on those who assisted him will inevitably detract from that credit. It may be trusted, therefore, that the great traveller will take the opportunity to review his original censure and to consider how far the exceptional circumstances of his rear-guard may deserve more weight than he accorded to them, when the ruin of this section of his expedition was fresh in his memory.

Should he thus make the first advance towards reconciliation, it is unlikely that the remaining parties to the controversy will allow themselves to be outdone in generosity; and his magnanimity will, in that case, be the one feature in this episode of African exploration which will be remembered long after the details of the Emin relief scandal have sunk into oblivion.

Should, however, these remarks fail to induce a manifestation of the kindly spirit which is so desirable at the present juncture, it may be hoped that the side light which has been thrown on the discussion will have some effect in modifying the bitterness of the personal animosities that have been aroused, and that the unedifying spectacle of proceedings at law, which it has been proposed should be furnished for the mockery of the world, may be spared us. It would surely be possible to refer the whole question to some one with sufficient judicial experience, local knowledge,

and practical acquaintance with African exploration, who should also possess the confidence of both parties as well as of the public. A very simple bond might embody all that would be essential to such an arrangement, the parties merely undertaking to give effect to his decision, and in the meantime to preserve silence.

In the event either of this or of the more personal reconciliation being carried out, there can be little doubt that a considerable amount of unmerited obloquy which now attaches to the Emin relief expedition would be effectually cleared away. Should, however, no such arrangement be come to, it must be anticipated that the indictment will continue to prejudice popular feeling, and be handed down to posterity in the permanent history of African exploration.

No great prescience is required to foresee the result of any further protraction of the existing controversy. The ink of the ratification of the Anglo-German agreement was scarcely dry; the echoes of resolutions, indicating the promptness of our capitalists to avail themselves of the new markets which our Government had so opportunely secured, had scarcely died away; the leaders in our daily press, on the admirable arrangement which would provide increased work for our mills and factories, had scarcely commenced to raise the hopes of our manufacturers and mill operatives, when the appearance of obscure accusations against the great explorer, who had done so much to pave the way for this resuscitation of our trade, seems to have caused most of this remarkable enthusiasm to collapse, and, instead of applying our surplus millions in developing the vast territories that had been assigned to British influence, we began to entertain suspicions that our new empire in Africa was a chimera.

A glance at the proceedings of our neighbours would prove such suspicions to be unfounded. Their taunts that our enthusiasm and boasted energy might be described as "humbug," and that the indignation we profess at acts of inhumanity is mere hypocrisy, need not greatly disturb us;

but unfortunately, while our inactivity is endangering the future of British interests in tropical Africa, they are engaged in launching their trading steamers on the lakes which lie in the very heart of our most promising territory, and their mill operatives are working overtime in order to supply fabrics for the new markets which we should have been the first to exploit. If, then, the mere discussion of these doubtful charges against our pioneers has really brought about this feebleness of action, what must be the consequences of their reference to the tribunals or their indefinite postponement?

In leaving this question, let us sincerely hope, if only for the sake of our redundant working population, whose welfare mainly depends on the development of our trade, that other nations may not be suffered to forestall us, and that British enterprise will, when once the present distrust is laid aside, arouse itself out of this lethargy, ere it becomes too late.

AFRICANUS.

HAYTI AND ITS FUTURE.

THE Haytian people occupy a fairly extensive territory, of which the fertility and mineral resources in a climate of generally recognised salubrity are, so to speak, the "Legend of the Archipelago of the Antilles." The island of Hayti has been called the Queen of the Antilles; and this glorious surname will not seem exaggerated if it be remembered that the portion occupied by the French colonists, though imperfectly cultivated, was bringing to the metropolis at the close of the last century two-thirds of its revenue.

This land, the first of importance discovered by Christopher Columbus—where Europe laid the foundation of civilization in America, cannot by its position fail in compassing a brilliant future, if its independence is guarded, and if the Powers interested in the neutrality of the basin called the Gulf of Mexico give it their moral support. To conceive and admit this future, we must first acquaint ourselves with the social and political condition of the Haytian Republic.

Persons who, in order to judge of the country, only consider its unhappy past, might indeed, if they do not inquire into its true causes, despair of the future of a State whose dawn was welcomed by so many hopes. But the actual condition of the Haytian nation is assuredly above the impression which a superficial examination might leave. Young, and arriving at independence by the brusque conquest of natural freedom, this people, though often disquieted, works out none the less its evolution. With regard to the elements of which it is composed, it may be said that the matter in a state of fusion is not its best part. The majority of its citizens, indifferent to politics, daily give incontestable proofs of high moral energy and of the virility of our people. Nevertheless, the population of Hayti, considered in its entirety and social organization, discovers

three groups, among which sometimes a fatal local spirit sows trouble, even to the extent of provoking attempts at schism. These groups are, the North, the West, and the South. Already the first of these groups, drawing into its political influence the population of the north-west and of the Artibonite, presented, under Henry Christopher, during twelve years, the deplorable spectacle of a microscopic independent State. The Haytian community, mainly composed of agriculturists, artisans, traders, and sailors, also boasts of many who profess the liberal arts or follow the career of arms. Tradesmen and workmen are the essential constituents of a true democracy, their interests in it not being very complicated. But unfortunately agriculture, industries, and navigation are at present in a primitive state in Hayti. Commerce is a simple traffic, occasionally rendered intricate by stock-jobbing; and the army itself, though composed of brave men, has no organization up to the present.

Such is actually the social state of the Haytian Republic. No profession being found there on the way to progress, and the initiative spirit wanting a basis and security, it can easily be understood that, in such a mist, the elements become isolated instead of combining towards national solidarity. Therefore, indeed, has the Haytian people not yet been able to enter, through its own industry, into complete political emancipation, and at the outset remains almost a stranger to what are elsewhere known as the "ethics of liberty."

Kept aloof in the regulation of national or communal affairs, deprived alike of natural patrons capable and worthy of advising it with a sincere solicitude for its welfare, behold it, a nation at the mercy of a band of "*déclassés*" (outcasts), men lazy or idle, lawyers without briefs, generals without armies, who exploit one following or the other, by caressing them with the "velvet glove," which so often conceals the iron hand, alike insinuating and rapacious. This is the chief obstacle which impedes the advancement of the country and inflicts upon it such distressing oscillations.

Hayti since its independence has known all kinds of

political institutions, autocratic or liberal; but none has survived our successive revolutions.

It would be easy, in discussing the question of a Parliament, to criticize that institution in order to warn our country against the parasites who suck its heart's blood, and who, at a pinch, would even traffic in the national independence; but such an undertaking would involve an extension and transgression of my present limits.

Our aim is solely to indicate briefly the possibility of assuring the future of Hayti. Above all, a Haytian Government, which understood its mission, should incessantly labour for the progressive enfranchisement of the people from the yoke of so many prejudices and customs under which the tradition of a frightful slavery holds it enchained.

There is no policy that has a more perfect ideal, a more positive form, or a more august character, than one, whose true object is the moral and material interest of the people, the amelioration of social conditions, and the harmony of classes. Its motive power can be recognised in this principle of justice, which, being intended to rule in all legislation, gives rise to revolutions and the most fatal disturbances when trampled under foot. This is a truth which is evident from Calvary down to the scaffold of Louis XVI. Justice is indeed a force which cannot long be repressed without an explosion and crushing those who despise it. What a celebrated Tribune, in one of his flights, called the "immanent justice of time" is generally the assertion of a violated right translated into the tumult of the street.

Nations do not long deliberate on matters that appear to them to be abstract and complicated; the energetic manifestation of their sentiments alone reveals aspirations which, however confused, are always wishes for a greater well-being. They must therefore have as interpreters sincere and devoted citizens, who are above all prepared for this task by established moral selection.

Family, knowledge, respectability, or personal merit, are signs by which they may be recognised as belonging to

nature's true nobility, a democratic nobility, constituted by honour and devotion. This should be the real character of a Delegate of the people; and these are also the conservative principles on which self-government is based wherever it is honoured.

If we insist, here as elsewhere, on the idea of the family, it is because this first grouping is the basis of society. Even when civil equality is proclaimed, it is none the less true that a people is composed of good and bad. If all citizens are called, only few are chosen; therefore, since a choice is necessary, it must fall on the good, indeed, the best, to be proper and logical. But where are they to be found more surely than in the organized family, whose instincts, morals, and liberty they have the mission to defend? Besides, in indicating family among other necessary qualifications for the representative of a community of families, we do not mean to generalize a system in politics, because in descent from a good family, high intellectual culture, energy, and honesty are not infallible conditions.

We have degenerate sons, vain and immoral scholars, like the rest of the world. The winged words of our orators have also often provoked discord. We too have honest men too timid and incapable to do great things, whilst persons born in a different class, succeed, by the energy of their temper, in throwing the liveliest lustre on their name and country. Besides the family, as we extol it, ennobled by work and the practice of virtue, is found in all the social strata. Thus, whatever his birth, merit joined to rendered services, assures to every Englishman in Great Britain his true place, were it the first in the Government, whilst a Charter of six centuries, immovable like the rock in the midst of tempests, still dazzles the eyes of the people. To a nation so constituted, under an administration that develops its resources and favours practical studies, should, indeed, be reserved the noblest destinies.

Is it not here that we should find the ideal and example for the happiness and stability of "the future of Hayti"?

LÉGITIME.

THE BEHRING'S SEA DIFFICULTY AND THE UNDERSTANDING WITH RUSSIA ON THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA.

1821 TO 1891.

"The open sea is not capable of being possessed as private property. The free use of the ocean for navigation and fishing is common to all mankind, and the public jurists generally and explicitly deny that the main ocean can ever be appropriated" ("Kent's Commentaries," p. 28).

WE are threatened with a revival of the pretensions made by Russia in 1821, to treat the North Pacific Ocean as a close sea, in which she might forbid all commerce and navigation. The Foreign Office has not taught the public that this unreasonable demand is based on an obsolete discussion, from which Russia has derived substantial advantages, although she has abandoned claims which she had not the smallest power of enforcing against either the United States or Great Britain.

In order to understand what is now engaging attention in this country and embittering opinion on the other side of the ocean, it will be necessary to give an historical sketch, based on records within our reach, alike as regards Russian manœuvres and the principal steps taken by the American Government, in the development of their Alaskan territory, which Russia sold to them.

The Russians approached America from the west. In 1639 Dmetrei Kopiloft reached Okhotsk. Owing to the docile character of the inhabitants, and to Russia's judicious policy, Siberia, and afterwards Kamschatka, were annexed without difficulty; but this extension of the Russian Empire does not appear to have reached the American Continent. When, in 1799, the Emperor Paul gave a charter to the Russian American Company, the only Russian settlement in America was upon a small island.*

* See extract from a letter of Mr. John Quincy Adams, 30th March, 1822, "United States," No. 2 (1890), p. 513.

It was in September, 1821, that Russia claimed as a close sea the whole of the North Pacific Ocean from Behring's Strait, to 51° North Latitude on the American, and 45° 41′ on the Asiatic coast. This extravagant pretension is contained in a Ukase, of which we translate the important part from Martens's Treaties ("Nouveau Recueil," volume supplémentaire au Vième, tome, p. 358).

"Dated 16th September, 1821.

"1. It is permitted only to Russian subjects to engage in commerce, in the fishery of the whale and of other fishes, and in any branch of industry whatsoever, in the islands, ports, and gulfs, in general along the North-west coasts of America, beginning from Behring Strait so far as 51° North Latitude, as well as along the Aleutian Isles and on the Eastern coast of Siberia and of the Kurile Islands; that is to say, from Behring Strait so far as the South Cape of the Island of Ouroup, that is to say, so far as 45° 41′ North Latitude.

"2. Consequently it is forbidden to every foreign vessel to land at the Russian establishments designated in the preceding paragraph, and to approach them at a distance of less than 100 Italian miles. Every one infringing [this order] will forfeit his cargo."

Now for the American claim. It is, that Behring Sea is not part of the Pacific Ocean, and that while Russia recognised the right of the United States and of Great Britain to navigate the Pacific Ocean, and to land on any part of its coast not occupied by Russia; both Great Britain and the United States recognised Russia's right to monopolize the waters of Behring's Sea. That view is, however, not supported by the Treaties with the United States and with Great Britain, which were the result of the Ukase of 1821, for, as Russia obviously neither would nor could obtain by force a monopoly of the whale or seal fisheries in Behring's Sea, she used that Ukase to create a permanent source of dispute between the kindred Anglo-Saxon Powers. The Treaties, however, will speak for themselves. By her Treaty with the United States, Russia bound herself to make no settlement South

of 54° 40′ North Latitude. By her Treaty with England, Russia obtained a boundary line and a cession of 300 miles of coast, which fringed for thirty miles inland the most northerly settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company.

But in each of these Treaties, Russia, by its first article, abandoned the claim to make the North Pacific a close sea.

TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES, 5/17 APRIL, 1824.

Article I. "It is agreed that in any part of the great ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean or South Sea, the respective citizens or subjects of the High Contracting Powers shall be neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing, or in the power of resorting to the coasts, upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives, saving always the restrictions and conditions determined by the following articles." *

TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN, 16/28 FEBRUARY, 1825.

Article I. "It is agreed that the respective subjects of the High Contracting Parties shall not be troubled or molested in any part of the ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, either in navigating the same, in fishing therein, or in landing at such parts of the coasts as shall not have been already occupied, in order to trade with the natives, under the restrictions and conditions specified in the following articles." †

The right of either party not to be troubled by the other is asserted reciprocally. These Treaties therefore afford no pretence that Russia possessed any exclusive right before these Treaties were made. For a valuable consideration she withdrew a baseless claim.

Yet Mr. Blaine, in a long despatch, dated 30th June, 1890, addressed to Sir Julian Pauncefote, our present Minister at Washington, writes as follows :—

"It must not be forgotten that this entire negotiation of the three Powers proceeded with full knowledge and recognition of the Ukase of 1821. While all questions

* Martens's Treaties, "Nouveau Recueil," vol. vi., p. 1010. "Macgregor's Tariffs," Russia, p. 28.

† *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 684. "Macgregor's Tariffs," Russia, p. 23.

touching the respective rights of the Powers on the North-west coast between the 50th and 60th parallels were discussed, and pressed by one side or the other, and finally agreed upon, the terms of the Ukase of 1821, in which the Emperor set forth so clearly the rights claimed and exercised by Russia in the Behring's Sea, were untouched and unquestioned." *

Look back to the Ukase. There is no distinction made between any part of the West Coast of America down to 51°, which is far to the south of Behring's Sea.

Mr. Blaine continues : —

"These rights were therefore admitted by all the Powers negotiating as within the exercise of Russia's lawful authority then, and they were left inviolate by England during all the subsequent continuance of Russia's dominion over Alaska.

"These Treaties were therefore a practical renunciation, both on the part of England and the United States, of any rights in the waters of Behring's Sea during the period of Russia's sovereignty. She left the Behring's Sea, and all its coasts and islands, precisely as the Ukase of Alexander in 1821 left them; that is, with the prohibition against any vessel approaching nearer to the coast than 100 Italian miles, under danger of confiscation. The original Ukase of Alexander of 1821 claimed as far south as the 51st degree of North Latitude, with the inhibition of 100 miles from the coast applying to the whole."

The sea which Russia's Ukase pretended to close, can be measured only by a comparison of maps, for it is the sea between the two hemispheres. The 51st parallel of North Latitude running from Cape Lopatka in Kamschatka to the village of Rasculs, in what is now British Columbia, extends over 78° of Longitude, from 157° East Longitude to 235° East Longitude (125° West Longitude).

The Ukase was brought to the notice of Lord Londonderry (better known as Lord Castlereagh), 12th November, 1821, by Baron de Nicolai, then Russian Chargé d'Affaires, as connected with the territorial rights of the Russian Crown on the North-west Coast of America, and with the commerce and navigation of the Emperor's subjects in the seas adjacent thereto.†

This was then a domestic document. It might be law to Russian subjects. To all others it was statement, and the statement was false. Russia did not possess establishments "in the ports and gulfs in general along the North-western Coast of America." Further, the Ukase gave false information to Russian subjects as to the rights which would have accrued to Russia, had she really occupied the whole coast from Behring's Strait to Latitude 51°. She would thereby

* "United States," No. 2 (1890), p. 504.

† *Ibid.*, p. 520.

have possessed a right over the waters three miles from the shore, and no further. Lord Castlereagh treated this document with a courtesy which, in any but an international affair, such a document would not have received. He said that His Majesty would be ready to enter into "amicable explanations" on the subject. But he showed that he knew what the character of the document was, for he added :—

"In the meantime, upon the subject of this Ukase generally, and especially upon the main principles of claim laid down therein, viz., an exclusive sovereignty alleged to belong to Russia over the territories therein described, as also the exclusive right of navigation and trading within the maritime limits therein set forth, His Britannic Majesty must be understood as hereby reserving all his rights, not being prepared to admit that the intercourse which is allowed on the face of this instrument to have hitherto subsisted on these coasts, and in these seas, can be deemed to be illicit; or that the ships of friendly Powers, even supposing an unqualified sovereignty was proved to appertain to the Imperial Crown, in these vast and very imperfectly occupied territories, could, by the acknowledged law of nations, be excluded from navigation within the distance of 100 Italian miles, as therein laid down, from the coast the exclusive dominion of which is assumed (but as His Majesty's Government conceive in error) to belong to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias."

Lord Castlereagh was well acquainted with the character of Russia and of her Emperor Alexander I. He knew well the nature of their influence, to which England had had so often to give way. Mr. Blaine should remember that the American Government had even been more energetic than the Government of England in repudiating the Russian claims. The American statesmen thought they were fighting a battle, the English statesmen knew that Russia was only playing a game. Even now Mr. Blaine says that Great Britain and the United States *forced* Russia back to 54° 40′ as her southern boundary, as if she had ever got further or so far south, except on paper.

In support of this assertion, we would quote from the letter which Mr. Adams wrote to Mr. Middleton, the United States Minister in St. Petersburg :—

"From the tenour of the Ukase, the pretensions of the Imperial Government extend to an exclusive territorial jurisdiction from the 45th degree of North Latitude on the Asiatic coast to the Latitude of 51° N. on the western coast of the American Continent; and they assume the right of interdicting the navigation and the fishery of all other nations to the extent of 100 miles from the whole of that coast.

"The United States can admit no part of these claims. Their right of fishing and of navigation is perfect, and has been in constant exercise from the earliest times, *after the peace of* 1783 throughout the whole extent of the Southern Ocean, subject only to the ordinary exceptions and of the territorial jurisdictions, *which so far as Russian rights are concerned, are confined to certain islands north of the* 55*th degree of latitude, and have no existence on the continent of America.*" *

The two passages in italics were omitted from a quota-

* "United States," No. 2 (1890), p. 514.

tion in Lord Salisbury's despatch of 22nd May, 1896, as being irrelevant to his argument. Mr. Blaine founds upon them his argument for a United States Sovereignty over Behring's Sea. With what absence of reason we shall show further on. There are no doubt mysteries connected with the Treaties, such as the removal of the Hudson's Bay Company from the coast by giving Russia the whole of the north-western portion of North America along the 141st meridian from the Pacific to the Frozen Ocean, and a strip of land about thirty miles from the coast from 141° to about 128° 30′ West Longitude.

Russia's gain from the exploded Ukase was therefore the territory of Alaska. But as she has since sold Alaska to the United States for seven millions of dollars, her gain seems to have been that sum in hand and further opportunity of sowing dissension between the United States and Great Britain.

The English Treaty with Russia was signed ten months later than that with the United States. At first the Americans were so startled by the outrageous demands of Russia that they were glad to make common cause with Great Britain against her; but this did not suit Russia's policy. It must be recollected, that the one hundred miles pretension had been put out of court by the British Government; but the territorial question had to be negotiated. A boundary treaty alone could give to either party the right to resist seizure of an unoccupied spot by the other. If Great Britain and the United States had united against Russia, they could have compelled her to give up what she had not got; but Russia did not really require any of the continent, and had only to separate her two rivals in order to get more than she could use and to aggravate the territorial dispute already existing between them. On the 17th April, 1824, the Americans gave to Russia what they had refused to England, and signed a treaty with Russia, binding themselves to make no settlement north of 54° 40′ N. Lat.

In the preceding "President's Message" Mr. Monroe had

announced that, at the proposal of the Russian Government, the United States had agreed to "arrange by amicable negotiations the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the North-West Coast of this Continent."

What then is the secret tie between the Republican States and Autocratic Russia? It may be found in her tacit connivance at the so-called Monroe doctrine which is enunciated in the following sentence:—

"In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that *the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power.*"

"The lines italicized," says Mr. Blaine, "constitute the *famous* Monroe doctrine" (United States, No. 2, 1890, p. 501).

It is, however, curious, that in the very negotiation in which it was judged proper to assert this "principle," the United States were acknowledging in Great Britain and Russia the very right which they were proposing to deny; and in less than five months they gave up all north of 54° 40′ to Russia.

The "famous" doctrine is attributed, not to Mr. Monroe but to Mr Adams, who must have had to discuss the matter with the Russian Minister at Washington, although the treaty was signed at St. Petersburg. Russia by the Treaty got from the United States that part of the North-West Coast which they had refused to Mr. Canning. Is it unreasonable to suppose that to the astute influence of the Russian Minister, by suggestion, or by feigned opposition, or by both, the American claim above 55°, so soon resigned, and the "famous" doctrine, owed their existence? In any case, the result was a Russian triumph. The cordial union between the United States and Great Britain was ruptured and has never been restored.* At this moment the trian-

* Nor can this be the case, in spite of the undoubted affection which the Americans of the United States have for England, because the similarity of many of their institutions, the identity of their language, and the proximity of British possessions make the danger of their absorption, if not by England, at any rate by English Monarchical ideas far greater than from any

gular duel is resumed, and Russia is fighting her battle for the acquisition of Bulgaria in the courts of British Columbia.

On the 28th of February, 1825, the British Treaty with Russia was signed at St. Petersburg. It defined a boundary between Russia and British America.

What induced the British Government in 1825 to surrender to Russia the 300 miles of the coast between Mount St. Elias and Portland Channel? It may perhaps be revealed some day, in the correspondence of the Government, of which not much has been published, or in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had every interest in opposing the cession, by which they have suffered ever since.

Russia was not disposed to observe the Treaty she had made. She was glad to accept Prince of Wales Island, of which Article IV. said, that "it shall belong wholly to Russia." But she could not make up her mind to observe the terms of—

ARTICLE VI.

"It is understood that the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the ocean or from the interior of the continent, shall *for ever* enjoy the right of navigating freely, and without any hindrance whatever, all the rivers and streams which, in their course towards the Pacific Ocean, may cross the line of demarcation upon the line of coast described in Article III. of the present Convention."

This line of coast is the 300 miles from Mount St. Elias to Portland Channel; and its breadth of thirty miles is the barrier between the Pacific Ocean and the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay Company, in accordance with the right granted by the Treaty, sent an expedition up the Stikine, and the Russian Government seized the vessels belonging to it. Obtaining no redress from the English Government, the Hudson's Bay Company entered into an engagement with the Russian Fur Company, and took a lease of the coast from Fort Simpson to Cross Sound.

We have now to record the principal steps taken by the

other European quarter. Russia, on the contrary, being the very antithesis, political, religious, social, and geographical, is the very country signalled out as the natural friend of the United States, with which to divide the empire of the world, in accordance with the so-called Will, or rather the traditions, ascribed to Peter the Great.

American Government in the development of their Alaskan territory.

The Acts of Congress respecting Alaska are contained in the Revised Statutes relating to Alaska, sections 1956 to 1971, and are given in an annex to a despatch of Mr. Bayard's, dated 12th April, 1887, at pp. 55 to 58 of United States No. 2 (1890). We shall refer only to those which are relevant to the dispute, and shall give the number which each Act bears on the list.

On July 27, 1868, an Act of Congress (Sec. 1954) was passed, to extend the laws of the United States relating to customs, commerce, and navigation to the mainland, islands, and waters of the territory ceded by Russia by the Treaty of Washington, March 30th, 1867. This Act was a matter of necessity. Russian law had ceased.

On March 3, 1868, an Act was passed (Sec. 1959) reserving for Government purposes the islands of St. Paul and St. George, and forbidding any one to land or remain there without the permission of the Secretary of the Treasury.

On July 1, 1870, an Act was passed intituled "An Act to Prevent the Extermination of Fur-bearing Animals in Alaska." It forbade (Sec. 1956) anybody without the authorization of the Secretary of State to kill any fur-bearing animal in the territory of Alaska or in the waters thereof. The same Act (Sec. 1960) authorized the granting of a lease (with a monopoly of the right of taking fur seals there) on the islands of St. Paul and St. George. On August 3rd, 1870, this lease was granted to the Alaska Commercial Company.

This monopoly, in which the number of seals to be killed was limited to 100,000 a year, was established professedly in order to prevent the extermination of the seals.

This Company, *by an alliance with the lessees of the Russian Seal Islands*, controls the fur-seal trade of the world.* It has excited a warm opposition in the United States. Whether it does exceed the powers granted to

* See "History of the Origin of this Commercial Company," United States, No. 2 (1890), p. 9.

Congress by the Constitution, is a matter for the decision of the Supreme Court. But a prohibition by the American Congress to fish in the waters or to kill seals on the territory of Alaska, is not a violation of the Law of Nations, since the terms "territory and waters of Alaska" can imply only territory belonging to the United States, and waters only three miles from the territory.

All this went on for seventeen years, the Alaska Commercial Company paying to the United States Government in rental and royalty an annual sum calculated at 315,000 dollars; more than 4 per cent. on the 7,000,000 dollars which was paid to Russia for the territory.

The earliest record we can find of the practical assertion of this monopoly is in a letter dated March 12th, 1881, from the Acting Secretary of the U.S. Treasury to Mr. D'Ancona, apparently a merchant and shipowner at San Francisco. From this letter we extract the following:—

"Presuming your inquiries to relate more especially to the waters of Western Alaska, you are informed that the Treaty with Russia of the 30th March, 1870 (? 1867), by which the territory of Alaska was ceded to the United States, defines the boundary of the territory so ceded. This Treaty is found on pp. 671 to 673 of the volume of Treaties of the Revised Statutes. It will be seen, therefore, that the limit of the cession extends from a line starting from the Arctic Ocean, and running through Behring's Strait to the North of St. Lawrence.

"The line runs thence in a south-westerly direction, so as to pass midway between the Island of Attou and Copper Island, of the Kormandorski Couplet or Group of the North Pacific Ocean, to meridian of 173* West Longtitude. *All the waters within that boundary to the western end of the Aleutian Archipelago and chain of islands are considered as comprised within the waters of Alaska territory.*

"All the penalties prescribed by law against the killing of fur-bearing animals would therefore attach against any violation of law within the limits before described."†

In March, 1886, this letter was brought by the Secretary of the Treasury to the cognisance of the Collector of Customs at San Francisco, and warning was given that the law would be enforced.

On August 24th, 1886, Rear Admiral Sir M. Culme-Seymour telegraphed from Victoria to the Admiralty, as follows.

"Three British Columbian seal schooners seized (by) United States' Revenue cruiser 'Corwin' Behring's Straits, seaward 70 miles from off the land [in the execution of] killing female seals, and using fire-arms to do it, which they have done for three years without interference, although in Company with 'Corwin.'"

The resemblances of these proceedings to, and their contrasts with, those of Russia in 1821, are equally remarkable.

* A misprint for 193.

† "History of the Origin of this Commercial Company," United States, No. 2 (1890), p. 6.

Like Russia, the United States commence an extra-national aggression by a document whose authority is purely domestic. Unlike Russia, they do not flaunt this document in the face of the world, nor do they assign to the document itself any meaning inconsistent with the Law of Nations. They do not say that no foreigner shall go within 100 miles of their territories, but confine their enactments to the territory and the "waters thereof" and the "waters adjacent to" certain islands; islands which, with their waters, *do* belong to them. They then grant all that they possess to a Company as a monopoly. In this the Government runs a double danger. First, their grant, even under a limited sense of the words "waters thereof," may be appealed against, and invalidated by a decree of the Supreme Court. Further, when they explain that by the waters of Alaska they mean a sea 900 miles broad, they introduce a new element. The decision of the Supreme Court must now depend, not merely on the Constitution of the United States, but on the Law of Nations, under which no man who called himself a jurist could say that this sea, 900 miles in diameter, was a close sea.

The case of the "Thornton," one of the three vessels above referred to, was brought before the U. S. District Court of Sitka on August 13, 1886. The Judge quoted the 1st Article of the Treaty of March, 1867, between Russia and the United States, in which the boundary of Alaska is defined as follows,—

"The western limit, within which the territories and dominion conveyed are contained, passes through a point in Behring's Strait on the parallel of 65° 30′ North Latitude at its intersection by the meridian which passes midway between the Island of Krusenstern or Igualoch and the Island of Ratmanoff or Noonarbe [illegible] and proceeds due North, without limitation, into the same Frozen Ocean. The same Western limit, beginning at the same initial point, proceeds then in a straight course nearly South-West through Behring's Straits and Behring's Sea so as to pass midway between the North-West point of the Island of St. Lawrence and the South East point of Cape Tchoukotski to the meridan of 172° West Longtitude, thence from the intersection of the meridian in a South-Westerly direction, so as to pass midway between the Island of Attou and the Copper Island of the Kormandorski couplet or group *in the North Pacific Ocean*, to the meridian of 193° West Longtitude, so as to include in the territory conveyed the whole of the Aleutian Islands East of that meridian." *

Now the contention put forward *for*, we will not say *by*, the United States, is, that Behring's Sea is no part of the Pacific Ocean, and that the United States and Great

* "History of the Origins," etc., United States, No. 2 (1890).

Britain, while maintaining the Pacific Ocean as an open sea, accorded to Russia the sole possession of Behring's Sea. The unnecessary mention of the Pacific Ocean, in the Treaty, was certainly not designed to favour the present contention of Mr. Blaine.

The Judge is reported to have gone on to say :—

> "All the waters within the boundary set forth in this Treaty to the Western end of the Aleutian Archipelago and Chain of Islands, are to be considered as comprised within the waters of Alaska ; and all the penalties prescribed by law against the killing of fur-bearing animals, must therefore attach against any violation of law within the limits before described.
>
> "If therefore the jury believe from the evidence that the defendants did, by themselves or in conjunction with others, on or about the time charged in the information, kill any otter, mink, martin, sable, or fur-seal, or other fur-bearing animal or animals on the shores of Alaska, or in the Behring's Sea, east of the 193° of West Longitude, the jury should find the defendants guilty.
>
> "Verdict—Guilty. Sentence—Fine and imprisonment."

The case is therefore clear. An attempt has been made in the name of the United States, to establish on their North-West Coast a doctrine contrary to the Law of Nations, and still more contrary to the doctrine they are always declaring on their East Coast, where Mr. Bayard claimed for fishing vessels all the privileges of ordinary merchant vessels.*

This new and most un-American doctrine is brought forward in a *municipal* Act, to which the attention of foreigners is not called, while it is followed by the establishment of a monopoly injurious to the interests and contrary to the customs of American citizens, who are deprived of their ordinary right of free fishing in favour of a Company intimately connected with the Russian Fur Company, which, with its territory, had had to abandon a good deal of its pre-eminence. Then, suddenly, a mine is sprung against Great Britain. And what is the time chosen ? The time when Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill has begun to convulse this country, and its defeat has given rise to a General Election.

A series of dishonest surprises has enlisted whatever is disreputable in the United States in favour of the attempt which, in its reference to England, commenced with Mr. Bayard and is now continued under the new President by Mr. Blaine. But these proceedings have drawn forth a

* United States, No. 1 (1887), p. 58.

stern reprobation from men of moral character and legal reputation for which we much regret that we cannot find space. Moreover, throughout the steps in this affair, no American has planned a design and carried it out. If the whole has been planned by an outside Power, it has been well planned, not indeed for the advantage of the United States, but for causing disunion among American citizens, discord with England, and a loss of reputation to the United States. Russia is the same in Alaska as she is in Servia, and the same in 1891 as she was in 1821.

We consider the connection of Russia with the proceedings on the North-West Coast of America so important that we have left ourselves no space to treat of the actual negotiations Our regret at this is lessened by the circumstance that Russia has not given many indications as to the line she is going to take. So long as Great Britain and the United States are quarrelling she is quite satisfied that all is well; and every false move or statement made by Nations that have some respect for veracity is pleasing to Russian statesmen. But while Russia may hope to gain something by the mere fact of a quarrel between the two countries, the advantage which she probably reserves to herself is a convention for the regulation of the Seal Fishery, in which she may have an opportunity of reigning in an Arctic Concert as she does in the European Concert. The claim to a close sea in the Pacific Ocean, which Russia never expected to get for herself, she can scarcely intend to procure for the United States. Great Britain will be triumphant in the refutation of a claim which was ridiculous. She will enter into a Treaty, not with the United States alone, which would be harmless, but into one to which Russia will be a party, and will think she is only protecting the seals from extinction.

In spite of Lord Salisbury's cool forbearance and of his sound logic, we do not think that he has grasped the situation. When people set aside the methods best adapted to obtain the results they "profess to be aiming at," it is reasonable to suppose that some other result is the real

aim. Especially is this probable when that aim is professed by persons so liable to be actuated by varying motives as in the present case. In what passes for the American side of the Behring's Sea dispute, the only party with a steadfast purpose is Russia. The two American factions are both engaged in it, and the two rival Secretaries of State. Each of these gentlemen is deeply engaged in the party conflicts of the time, and is aware that there is a considerable number of Americans, native or Irish, whose favour is to be gained by opposition, real or pretended, to England. If no third party could intervene, by advice or otherwise, all these circumstances would make England's task an easy one. But if these circumstances would make it difficult for the United States to succeed in an aggression against Great Britain, they make it easy for Russia to influence the counsels of the United States for her secular task of promoting discord between the two great representatives of the Anglo-Saxon race. It seems to us that Lord Salisbury supposes himself engaged in a dispute with the United States, in which they are so wrong that victory will come to him almost without a struggle. In our judgment, Lord Salisbury is engaged, like Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, and the Duke of Wellington, in a contest with Russia, in which, like them, he will be defeated, unless, unlike them, he shall become aware in what a serious conflict he is engaged.

We purposely refrain from saying anything of the correspondence which has taken place since what is recorded in the Blue Book, some particulars of which have filtered through the press. We regret that we cannot find space to discuss a despatch dated 30th June, 1890, in which Mr. Blaine goes through the whole affair again, and says of the Ukase of 1821:

"It did not, as so many suppose, declare the Behring's Sea to be *mare clausum*. It did declare that the waters, to the extent of 100 miles from the shores, were reserved for the subjects of the Russian Empire."

Mr. Blaine then goes on to maintain that both Great Britain and the United States accepted the prohibition to approach within 100 miles from the Russian shore. This would have

been a prohibition to Great Britain to communicate through Behring's Strait with her own shores in the Arctic Ocean.

Lord Salisbury replied by enclosing the correspondence of 1824, in which is recorded the entire disavowal of any claim on the part of Russia to shut up Behring's Strait, or to command the sea beyond three miles from the shore.

Early this January, by the advice of the Canadian Government, and with the consent of the Government at home, the Sayward case was brought before the Supreme Court on a writ of prohibition to the District Court of Sitka which had condemned Mr. Sayward's vessel for catching seals beyond the three miles limit. The U.S. Government objected that the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction. The Court has decided that it has jurisdiction and will hear the case.

This reference to the Supreme Court of the United States is a matter of the highest importance, and may have most beneficial results. Attempts have naturally been made to misrepresent its real character. It is therefore necessary to expound the extreme simplicity of the affair.

The British schooner *W. P. Sayward* was seized at a distance of 58 miles from land by a U.S. Revenue Vessel, for the alleged offence of illegally capturing seals, on the 9th of July, 1887. On 9 September, 1887, the master and mate were unconditionally released at Sitka. The Court at Sitka condemned the vessel, but, on application by the owners, granted leave to appeal to the Supreme Court. This appeal would, however, not have come on yet, and to expedite proceedings, the owners have applied for a less tedious process, which is called a Writ of Prohibition.

On 12 January, 1891, leave was asked to file the petition. After several hearings, on 2 February Chief Justice Fuller announced that the Supreme Court had decided to grant the petition for leave to file the application for a Writ of Prohibition. The Court was of opinion that it had jurisdiction, by way of prohibition, to review the proceedings of the Alaska Court.

The proceedings of the Sitka District Court are founded

on the Acts of Congress which regulate the territory and the waters of Alaska. These Acts do not define what are the waters of Alaska. If the British vessels had been caught within the three-mile limit, or even if there had been reason to believe that they had caught seals within that limit, there would have been no complaint of the decision given against them. But the Sitka Court, either of its own mere motion or impelled by executive authority, invented a new meaning for the "waters of Alaska," and declared them to include all the Behring Sea east of the 193rd degree of West Longitude.

The question which the Supreme Court has to decide is, whether this new doctrine of the Sitka District Court is the law of the United States.

Even if the doctrine laid down by the Sitka Court had been laid down by Statute, that is, had Congress passed an Act declaring that all Behring Sea east of 193° W.L. was included in the waters of Alaska, it would have been the province of the Supreme Court to decide whether this was the law of the United States; for the special duty of the Supreme Court is to restrain Congress within the rules of the Constitution. How much more, then, is it bound to give a decision when a District Court invents a doctrine new both in the national and in international law, and abets some executive department in putting it in force against foreigners, at the risk of war with the State whose subjects are so treated? Mr. Choate, counsel for the appellants, must have had this sentiment fully in his mind when he said:

"If the view of the Executive power taken by the Attorney General were to be accepted, the boasted Constitution and laws for the protection of life, liberty, and property were hardly worth the paper they were printed on. If the President could put a construction upon treaties and laws which should be conclusive upon the Court, why should they have Courts at all? If the President could order the seizure of a foreign ship which was probably never within American waters, and forcibly drag her to an American port, and hand her over to the jurisdiction of a District Court, he was a more irresponsible monarch than ever occupied the throne of Russia."

What should we say in England, if some District Court in the Shetland Isles were to seize and condemn a French fishing vessel 50 miles from land, and Lord Salisbury were to declare himself insulted by France because the owner appealed to the Admiralty Court in London?

When the British Superintendent of Trade in China and the Commander of H.M. ship *Volage* interrupted the voyage of a British merchant ship, and the shipowner pleaded to an action of the owner of the cargo, that he was acting under superior authority, the Court rejected the plea. No authority under common or statute law had been shown for these orders, described as "orders of the Government of the country of which both the plaintiff and the defendant were subjects."

It is our misfortune that the action was not brought by a Chinese, so as to show in a still stronger light the iniquity of raising any executive officers above the control of the law.

The telegrams received from the United States of America reported from day to day that the best judges thought the Supreme Court would refuse to exercise jurisdiction. Votes of censure on the Government of Great Britain were proposed in Congress, and hands were lifted up at the improper interference with diplomacy attempted by bringing before the authority of the Supreme Court a legal question which was in discussion between the Secretary of State and the British Foreign Office. From this mass of rubbish we select one item which appeared in *The Times* as a Reuter's telegram on the 20th January: --

"NEW YORK, *Jan.* 19.

"Mr. Foster, former American Minister at St. Petersburg and Madrid, who is an authority on international law, has been interviewed on the subject of the new phas[illegible] the Behring's Sea question. He said that the course taken by Great Britain could not be held to be anything but an act of extreme [illegible] courtesy and sharp practice towards Mr. Bl[illegible]

'With the British Government it is a question of 'Heads, I win; tails, you lose.' Considering this and the circumstance that Great Britain herself has by implication asserted that the United States Government, of which the Supreme Court is a branch, *has no jurisdiction over the Behring's Sea* for any purpose whatever, and, considering that the Supreme Court is asked to oppose *a national p*[illegible] *has always been pursued*, it is almost inevitable that the Court will decline to pronounce a decision in the case.—*Reuter.*"

A diplomatist who has graduated at St. Petersburg is, no doubt, specially qualified as an authority in international law. Having acquired the tone of his place of abode, he prefers diplomacy to law. Without diplomacy, Russia's army and navy would not preserve her from dissolution; but the diplomacy which has created the power of Russia is becoming fatal to Great Britain and the United States.

The British Government is not pleading its cause before

a tribunal of arbitration. It merely sanctions the private appeal of a British subject to the protection of the laws of the United States. In so doing it gives to the American people an opportunity of vindicating their justly boasted privilege of possessing a tribunal which will not allow the Executive Government to violate either the United States Constitution or the Law of Nations. The disgrace of allowing American fishermen, "who probably were never really in *Russian* waters," to be tortured in Siberia, will not be compensated by the pleasure of treating British subjects with a similar but by no means an equal injustice.

The argument that, if the Supreme Court has no jurisdiction over Behring Sea, it has no right to declare that this jurisdiction does not belong to a District Court, is a precious argument from "an authority on international law." The assertion that Mr. Blaine's is "a national policy which has always been pursued," is a statement which every American fisherman knows to be false. The Russian school is quite consistent in advocating the privileges of diplomacy and the omnipotence and infallibility of the Executive. To erect in each country a Court which should prevent international quarrels by compelling the Executive to observe the Law of Nations, would put an end to Russia as at present constituted. It would suit her much better that some international Court of Arbitration should be appointed, but one so constituted that it would be sure to break down.*

If the Supreme Court were to decide that the United States was lord of Behring's Sea, the case would be one in which the United States had sanctioned the violation of the Law of Nations, committed by the Executive and approved

* This paper was originally a narrative of many instances in which Russia has promoted quarrels between Great Britain and the United States. It maintained that this evil influence was exerted at the time of the Treaty of Holy Alliance in 1815, and was intimately connected with the French invasion of Spain in 1823, and with subsequent events up to the present time. It has been necessary to restrict the paper within limits which admit only of a treatment of the case at present in contention before the Supreme Court of the United States.

by the Court of Alaska. Then the wrong would be complete, and Great Britain would have to seek redress by means open to every independent State when wronged by another. But it is due to the American people that they should be invited to redress the wrong committed by their Government by an appeal to that Court which their ancestors instituted in order that the Government might not presume to override the law. We believe that the Supreme Court will rescue the character of the United States from the aspersions which their Government has cast upon them.

In this case the British Government will have given the United States an opportunity of displaying the rectitude of their intentions. Triumph over the United States would be unjust, and it would be unwise. What is required is, that the United States and Great Britain should unite to prevent Russia from establishing an American Concert. This Russia will establish if the United States and Great Britain enter *with Russia* into any Convention for the regulation of the Seal Fishery.

There is no inconsistency in moving the American Court to take the initiative in vindicating the Law of Nations as part of the law of the United States, yet reserving the ulterior right that forbids one State to submit to the dictation of another. If the question were one of territory, it might perhaps be wise for Great Britain to submit it absolutely to the Supreme Court of the United States. But we could not submit to such a doctrine as that any nation can take possession of the open sea. We ought not, therefore, to submit this question absolutely even to so honoured a tribunal as the Supreme Court of the United States.

C. D. Collet.

P.S.—Since we went to press, the Foreign Office has published another volume, U.S. No. 1 (1891); but nothing in it calls for detailed notice.

CHINESE CULTURE, AS COMPARED WITH EUROPEAN STANDARDS.

I. Chinese: Literary and Commercial.*

On several occasions I have addressed the French public on our literary and mercantile classes. I have undertaken again to discuss the same subject, because I believe that in a matter like this everything has not yet been said, and that many prejudices still abound concerning my distant country, which ought to be corrected.

Take for example our "literati." It is by no means uncommon to hear our Mandarin class spoken of as an all-powerful caste, in full possession of the country, and governing, according to its own good pleasure, other castes that yield a passive obedience to it, without any intelligence, and, above all, without any influence.

Nothing can be more unjust to our "literati" than to describe them thus, for they are far from constituting a class separated from the rest of the nation. The "literati," in fact, are not recruited specially from among any certain number of families to which are reserved the special appointments of administration and government. Favour has nothing whatever to do with it. The selection, on the contrary, is a most severe one, taking in the entire Chinese territory, and drawing out from the whole mass of the Chinese people the most capable individuals, to form of them the members of the corps of instructors and of the functionaries of the State: as you will see presently, it is the examinations, open to all, which establish this selection.

Neither birth nor fortune confers the claim to aspire to the title of a "literate." Nothing but the capacity of the individual can cause him to be admitted. There is no

* Translated from the French by C. Goulden, M.A., F.R.S.Lit., F.R.G.S., etc.

such thing, therefore, as "*class*" in this "personnel," which is constantly drawn from the inexhaustible reserve of our hundreds of millions of human beings, and which renews itself every year by new-comers, recruited without distinction from all the social strata of the country.

This popular origin has, moreover, in our eyes an enormous advantage. By the infusion of constantly fresh blood, our administration is always being rejuvenated, and remains by that alone in permanent contact with the people, and can neither ignore nor forget the wants and aspirations of the governed. Without doubt there are certain families in which talent is perpetuated. But the inheritance of appointments does not exist any more than does the exclusiveness of a class. And that is not one of the least powerful factors in the prosperity of China. A nation may be of great antiquity, but it can never grow old so long as it has the wisdom to renew its governing class perpetually by the absorption of the best and most capable citizens.

Now with us, the son of a shop-keeper, of a mechanic, or of a labouring man can become a "literate" on the same conditions as the son of a "literate." The young man whose father modestly cultivates his patch of rice in some distant province, comes to Pekin in order to pass his last examinations. If he succeeds, he becomes at once, by this fact alone, one of the first of the class of "literates," and henceforth the highest appointments in the State await him. Among these peculiar conditions you will notice one important consequence of our system, and that is, that the spirit of caste does not exist in my country, and that we know nothing of class prejudices. How could it be otherwise in a country where the son of a poor ploughman can, by his studies alone, rise rapidly to the highest position? Again, no "literate" will ever look upon, nor will he try to look upon, shop-keepers, artisans, or field labourers as belonging to a class less honourable than his own. This order of ideas is perfectly strange to us, and I congratulate my country upon the fact.

Instruction is not compulsory in China; nevertheless it is very rare to meet with an illiterate person. For centuries we have recognised the benefits of education; and what is more, the necessity of keeping the "Family book," which with us takes the place of public registration, forces us to learn to read and to write. This is no small matter. Our elementary instruction is, in fact, much more extensive than in Europe, the result of the greater difficulties attached to the learning of our writing, and to the multiplicity of our ideographic characters, acquaintance with which already necessitates long and careful application.

Thus, as soon as ever a child is old enough to receive instruction, it is sent to schools, kept by "literati" who, having acquired a very complete education, have yet not been successful in passing the examinations, where the number of the successful ones is always very limited. There, in a modest room, where the furniture and appliances are far from bearing comparison with grand modern school fittings, the little boy receives his first instruction, learns to read, to trace his letters, to understand and to retain sundry precepts taken from our classics. By-and-by the field of instruction is enlarged. The pupil attacks literature proper, familiarizes himself with poetry, and, anon, with history. Simultaneously he begins to learn drawing and painting in water-colours. He has to store his memory with a considerable number of literary extracts, and so to acquire gradually the style of our great writers.

All this work has taken some years to get through, and the time approaches when all his care and attention has to be given to his first examination, which corresponds to your bachelor's degree. Those who fail, after one or more attempts, return to the rank and file; the fortunate ones prepare for the second examination (for the licentiateship), and then for the third, or doctor's degree. Successive eliminations reduce the candidates for the last degree to a very small number. At this examination, which is held in the capital every third year, out of ten thousand candi-

dates, not more than two hundred succeed in passing; but to these are opened the portals of the Han-Sin Academy.

In order to arrive at that point the candidates must not only have become authors, but also politicians. Their studies have included, besides history and general literature, our practical philosophy, which is in one word the theory of the art of governing. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, explained by a number of commentaries, form the most important part of the programme. It is surely not a small point redounding to the glory of China to have made for so many centuries a philosophic and an essentially humanitarian education a condition *sine quâ non* for admission to public functions.

Thus may be seen, in this rapid sketch, the manner in which our "literati" are chosen. These competitions have an additional result which is very happy. Those who have failed have none the less reaped considerable profit. Some devote themselves to teaching; others, by far the most numerous, return to their civil occupations, for which they will be all the better adapted, because the general instruction which they have received will be eminently useful to them, whatever may be the career which they may definitely adopt.

The subjects which form the instruction given to our "literati" differ considerably, as may have been perceived, from the programmes imposed upon the educated in Europe. Until very lately, the sciences found but little room amongst them; but during the last thirty years we have made the necessary efforts in this direction, so that our *special* schools, combined with the missions of students sent abroad, suffice to bring us up to the level of our requirements.

But note that our ancient national programme perfectly fulfils the object for which we had intended it. In effect this programme develops to the highest degree public and private morality. It inculcates upon us, with the worship of the family and the respect for our parents, the love of our neighbour and the desire to be happy through the happiness of all.

Thus we need not be moved by the reproach, which is sometimes made to us, of living in the past. If our "past" had been retrograde, I could understand the reproach. But, on the contrary, this remote past has bequeathed us a doctrine of incessant progress, admirably suited to our national genius. It has taught us that the family should always keep the happiness of all its members in view, that each individual should interest himself in the lot of all his fellow human beings—in one word, that the supreme object of Government is the happiness of the people.

Who will dare to maintain that a moral so exalted should be condemned under the pretext that it is ancient? Moreover, the "literati" in their studies are obliged to tackle all sorts of subjects. You will find them, after passing their examinations, occupying most widely different situations. They will become in turn officials of the Administrative or of the Judicial Departments; they will occupy the post of Prefect, of Criminal Judge, of Civil or Commercial Magistrate. The same "Doctor" to-morrow may have to employ his faculties in superintending the canalization or the agriculture of the country; or, may be, in taking charge of the public works; or, again, he may be called upon as Censor critically and incessantly to examine all the acts of the Administration, or as diplomatist to maintain good feeling between the Government of his country and those of the most distant nations.

Do you really believe that a system of education which confers such varied aptitudes upon our "literati" can be condemned without further inquiry? Do you not think, on the contrary, that we have here a veritable intellectual power which deserves the most serious study?

If from the "literate" we pass to the "commercial," we must admit that the State in China takes no part in commercial education, which has till now devolved on the family alone.

You have all heard of the cleverness of our traders, who fear no rivalry, and do not retreat before any com-

petition. Let us see how the education given in the family has been able to produce such results.

The boy who has made up his mind some day to succeed to the management of his father's business, attends school up to his fourteenth year; there he learns to read, to write, and to reckon, also to draw a little. He there acquires sufficient knowledge of the history and the literature of his country, and studies the works of our philosophers. I should add, that our philosophy, disencumbered of all metaphysics, and reduced to the question of public and private morals, is easily mastered by young intellects.

Our philosophy inculcates not only honesty, but above all the most scrupulous delicacy. At the same time, it gives an exalted idea of human dignity, and teaches that happiness is not to be found in an exaggerated ambition, but in the culture of one's self. It points out, as an ideal, an existence, comfortable but simple, laborious but contented with little, in one word, the golden mediocrity of which the Latin poet speaks—a mediocrity which does not flatter the vanity of the scholar but which will preserve him instead, from self-deception, fast living, the feverish existence of a great speculator, and from catastrophes which only too often throw down those who try to mount too high.

Every day, when the boy comes home, he sees the excellence of the theories he has been taught, justified in practice. What does he find at home? A man who has been working steadily from the break of day, not leaving his work till well into the night. What is the result of this laborious unceasing application? The smallest profits to enable him to live and do honour to his engagements, and to augment by a small sum the capital he possesses. Amid such surroundings the boy almost always acquires similar ideas and habits, and learns that in trade success depends upon hard work and probity alone.

Nowhere, in fact,—and I am obliged to say it,—is commercial probity more absolute than in China. Why, only fancy that legal contracts are unknown in China! Our

traders, big and small, do all their business on parole. Written documents with them are useless. Verbal engagements with advantage take the place of written contracts. It is in this way that the smallest transactions and the most gigantic operations are settled, as will be seen further on.

The future trader has now learnt in theory and in practice these two great lessons, *viz.*, that happiness lies in moderation, and that the soul of business is honesty. His father will not fail to make him see on every occasion that the tradesman must not aim at large profits on a given article, his object in business being, above all, to effect a sale, and that nothing so facilitates a sale as the lowest possible profitable price. To sell cheaply in order to sell much, such has ever been the principle of our traders, and, from having been put in practice from all time and in all parts, has become a national habit which has largely contributed to the prosperity of our merchants. I must not omit the following fact: If a small profit contents our merchant, it is because, on the other hand, his wants are not great. Every one knows that the Chinese race is essentially a sober one. Sober and economical, without vanity or ostentation, the trader of my country has a right to content himself with little. The patriarchal life he leads saves him from the extravagant outlay which follows the desire to make an appearance and to dazzle. The simplicity of his life is surely one of the chief elements of his prosperity. You now know the moral education which our youth has received, whose progress in life you would doubtless like to follow. I must therefore touch another side of the question, *viz.*, that of his technical instruction, or more properly, his commercial education.

When quite young, the child learns naturally and without effort to make himself familiar with the various articles used in his father's business, which he can daily see, touch, handle, and examine in every way. It is indeed a veritable "object-lesson," which he teaches himself, without any other master than the curiosity natural to his age.

Accordingly, as his young intellect develops itself, his father teaches him little by little to distinguish the various goods sold, their origin, and the names of those from whom they are acquired, the different modes of packing and delivery, and lastly the customers of the business. Without exertion he thus picks up every detail of the special business which he intends to follow later on.

At school he has learnt to read, to write, and to reckon. As soon as he is sufficiently advanced, his new acquirements are put into practice; he is apprenticed to book-keeping, and will be of great assistance to his father as soon as frequent practice shall have made him completely at home in the use of the abacus or the calculating instrument. This instrument, as simple as it is ingenious, consists of a frame containing a number of balls, by the aid of which we are enabled to work out any calculation required in trade. All Chinese merchants make use of this machine. It is so handy, and has the advantage of being less liable to error than we are ourselves. In houses of less importance, of course, it is the master himself who uses it for his calculations. In large undertakings it is intrusted to a special accountant, who occasionally acquires a remarkable dexterity in the use of it. It is no rare thing to find some who work out the same sum in duplicate, employing both hands at once on two separate frames, which should furnish the same result and check each other mechanically. Some (like the artist whom I once saw in Paris painting glorious letters in the public streets with a penholder held between his toes), work two frames with the help of their feet.

The abacus is an instrument endowed with many advantages; not only does it accustom the child to work out all possible calculations, but it also exercises and sharpens the mental faculties. It has yet another advantage for children, namely, that of presenting to their vision something else than mere abstract figures. It excites their vision, and becomes a sort of plaything, at once amusing and

instructive. It is certain that the child who has a horror of mere dry instruction will teach himself more readily, thanks to this attractive auxiliary. Moreover, your greatest pedagogues, those whose theories are applied in your schools at the present time, could not fail to understand what resources these methods offered which call in the aid of sight to assist the reasoning power. Therefore, during the last twenty years, they have introduced into the primary schools a number of somewhat similar machines; and the method which they call *intuitive* has given, as far as I have been able to learn, the excellent results which were expected from it. Congratulate yourselves upon it; but allow me to inform you, not without a certain pride in my fellow-countrymen, that the invention of the calculating machine in China, is attributed to the emperor Fou-Hi, whose reign is placed 2852 years before the Christian Era.

The boy reaches the age of fourteen. He leaves school, having completed the regular course of studies, to return to his father's house and to enter upon the career for which he has prepared himself, and which has his affection, because he has always looked upon it as his lot in life.

Having been installed in the shop, and, as we say, "having his finger in the pie," he proceeds to perfect himself under the ever-watchful eye of his father, who puts him in his proper place, sets him his task, throws constantly increasing responsibilities upon his shoulders, and initiates him in the details and subtleties of the business.

Meantime, amidst all these different occupations, the boy has grown into a young man sixteen or seventeen years old, about to enter upon the serious responsibilities of his life, as the founder of a family in his turn; for, as you know, marriages in China are contracted much earlier than in Europe. Our whole education, our whole moral system tends to this one end, and incessantly urges upon our boys as they grow up, "You are born to become the father of a family, to take unto yourself, and that as soon as possible, a companion and a partner to raise up a numerous progeny

whom you will bring up as your father brought up you and your brothers and your sisters. "Be fruitful and multiply" is the law which is preached to us all in my country.

Pray do not imagine that these early marriages are an obstacle in life. Labour shared between two is easier than for one. Cast aside the prejudice so commonly held in Europe, that a man must first "settle down," before he marries. No! let him marry first, and he will then steady down. It is the family life, the additional responsibility he assumes as husband and father, that makes the youth a man. Marriage is not the result of the ripened mind, but its chief promoter. The experiment has been tested a million times, and with the same favourable results.

The sooner the young trader marries, the sooner will be developed those steady habits he needs. The regular life, with its cares and joys, which are brought by the presence of children is the complement to his former studies.

Attached to the domestic hearth by the strictest of ties, the young husband will not fail to apply his whole time to business, nor allow himself to be diverted by external distractions from the labour upon which the existence of those nearest and dearest to him must depend. There you see him entered in his turn upon the career which his father followed before him, and to which soon he will educate his descendants. In this picture of the Chinese trader, from his childhood to his marriage, you have an accurate description of our commercial education. You have seen how simple it is, how the family itself superintends it, that the State never interferes with it as in Europe where special establishments for commercial education, perfectly and logically organized, undertake to prepare young people for the path they are to tread. These advantages we do not enjoy in China. Now let us see the results of our thoroughly patriarchal method.

A most important fact to be shown is this: Just as the Chinese colonist,—persevering, frugal, and economical,—dreads no competition in manual labour, so the Chinese

trader, endowed with the same qualifications in a still higher degree, has gained ground on all sides since the opening of China to international commerce has brought the merchants of my country into contact with their colleagues in the rest of the world.

In all the countries which touch our borders, in all the islands which fringe the south-east of the Asiatic continent, it is the Chinese merchant that has triumphed in the battle for existence. I give the honour of these victories exclusively to the superior moral education given to our traders, which alone has enabled them to achieve them, although they have not attended, like their colleagues in Europe, regular lectures on commercial philosophy.

Here my task becomes somewhat delicate. You might say to yourselves that I am pleading for my own house, following the Latin axiom, and that under these conditions, it is very difficult for the advocate to remain unbiassed, and not allow himself to be drawn by the legitimate affection which every one has for his own, into tracing a too flattering picture of his country.

I have foreseen this objection, and so as the better to convince, I will, so to speak, no longer argue myself, but will bring before you witnesses whose impartiality you cannot impugn. Some of them are Europeans, who have impartially described what they have seen amongst us. Others, whose evidence is more valuable, are Americans, adversely disposed towards the Chinese. You will see what they say of our traders.

I shall commence by reproducing a few passages from an article published in the *Revue Blanche* by M. G. Cordonnier, who has studied our Oriental life during a tolerably long residence in Cochin-China and in Tonkin, where he was French Resident. Listen to my first witness :—

M. Cordonnier describes the Chinese merchants as "sober and industrious, and endowed with an activity capable of being applied in very varied directions." Then he adds,

"The whole of the retail and nearly all the wholesale trade is in their hands." He calls attention to what he terms, "the admirable spirit of charity and devotion," which creates the power of the Chinese associations. He shows how the French merchants of Saigon have all their bargains made through Chinese buyers. On page 3 he adds :—

"Whilst the European has adopted the maxim of selling dear to make a profit, even if his sales are small, the Chinese follows the true commercial principle of selling cheap in order to sell much." Good; but here is something better :—

"At the same time that they bring into their commercial transactions a spirit of scrupulous honesty which makes them preferred to the Europeans and the Annamites, the Chinese show themselves very large-minded and conciliatory in their operations. When I was at Hanoi, I had commissioned a Chinese contractor of the name of A-Hon to build me a house. I had settled with him in writing the specification of the building and the price (with the usual forfeit clause), and of which I had advanced him half. The works had hardly been commenced, when I received the news of my appointment to Cochin China, and the order to leave Tonkin. This circumstance had not been foreseen in the contract; but A-Hon, of his own accord, declared to me, that in the face of my forced departure, he could not hold me to the contract; and honourably repaid to me the whole of the money which I had advanced."

One might object that an isolated fact proves nothing, and that more than this evidence is wanted to decide our convictions. Well! these numerous testimonies I will try to adduce; and I have only one regret, that my patriotic modesty will be sorely tried, because I shall be compelled to repeat the good that has been said of my countrymen.

We have all heard of the anti-Chinese movement which took place some years ago in America. The presence of my fellow-citizens gave offence, that is certain. They were attacked with unbounded violence in a manner that was aggressive, and without any consideration. There is not a

crime, not a monstrosity of which the leaders of the campaign did not accuse the Chinese workmen and traders who had migrated to America. This brought about a Government Inquiry, carried on officially in three places—in California, in British Columbia, and in the Hawai islands.

This inquiry, so loudly called for, ended in—what? Why, in the complete rout and confusion of the anti-Chinese, as will be seen from the extracts that follow.

The accusers had maintained that the Chinese workmen and traders had ruined the country, that they were idle, ignorant, and dirty, affected with all sorts of horrible diseases, and moreover, extremely dishonest! The portrait is pretty complete, is it not? It will be said at once, "that it is impossible to make such accusations without being sure of the truth of them. Can it be conceived that individuals, societies, newspapers, could be found to slander with deliberate purpose a whole class of the population?"

Wait! the Report is about to reply. I quote from the text.

"California is indebted to the hand labour of the Chinese for—

"The railway communication with the Eastern States.

"The rapid bringing into cultivation of large tracts.

"If not the existence, at least the present development, of the fruit and vine culture.

"The creation of inexhaustible polders by the drainage of vast swamps, which could not have been drained except by Chinese working up to their middle in water, their heads surrounded by clouds of mosquitoes.

"The progress of its manufactures.

"The increase in the trade with Asia."

Moreover, the Report shows the Chinese workmen to be very trustworthy, very intelligent, faithful to their engagements, temperate, active, honest, all able to read and write, sober, enjoying good health by reason of their cleanliness, and that they take a bath every night. What is more, the Chinese require no sort of assistance on the part of the whites. They ask nothing from them for their poor, they

are not a charge upon our population. They are not alone in this respect—the same is the case with the Jews.

There, gentlemen, is the answer of the Commission of Inquiry to the calumnies hurled against the Chinese workmen. Let us now proceed to the traders, again I quote the exact terms used by the Inquiry Commission.

"The upper class of the Chinese," says this official document, "are remarkable for their probity and their punctuality in all their business affairs; the transactions of their commercial establishments are conducted with the strictest honour and integrity."

"The Chinese merchant is a man clever in business, and a good judge; he drives a close bargain. As regards their honesty, the word of a Chinese merchant is generally as good as his bond."

This may be said to be sufficient praise, but hear further.

"Industrious habits, economy, sobriety, and respect for the law, these make up the four most remarkable qualities of the Chinese, on the confession of both their friends and their enemies. 'Idle, drunken, extravagant and turbulent,' that is just what they are *not*. The cause of their unpopularity lies in this, their steady and unceasing industry can only be compared to that of the ant. I cannot remember ever having seen or even heard of an intoxicated Chinaman."

It is the Chief Justice of British Columbia, Sir Matthew Begbie, who in his magisterial capacity was in a good position to know, who renders this homage to my countrymen, at the expense of his own. Another witness, Dr. E. Stevenson, adds:—

"It would indeed be surprising if the Chinese nation, sober and industrious as it is, were not morally superior to a people among whom one meets so many lazy and drunken individuals. After an experience extending over a quarter of a century, I calmly and deliberately assert that such is the case." From other witnesses, we learn:—

"Throughout the whole of the vast tea trade, and in

other commercial transactions, our merchants place, unlimited confidence in the native brokers. A Chinese agent is sent off into the interior with 250,000, 300,000, or 500,000 dollars at a time to buy tea, without any other security than his honesty and integrity."

"Merchants who have done business to a considerable amount with the Chinese have informed me that written agreements with them are unnecessary, that their word is sufficient security for their being carried out, and that not a penny had been lost during many years through bad faith, although they had done business with them to the amount of many millions of piastres."

"If one considers the nature of the immigrants here, the Chinese are very superior as regards morality and good behaviour. I think," adds this witness, formerly a Judge of the Supreme Court, "that they are more faithful, more to be depended upon, more intelligent, and more industrious, than the whites of the same class. The merchants are held in high estimation." Mr. Gibbs, a gentleman engaged in San Francisco in the settlement of maritime losses, declares:—

"As a man of business, I regard the Chinese merchants as absolutely on an equality with our own; and as regards their integrity, I have never seen a body of men more honourable, more highminded, more exact, or more sincere, than the Chinese merchants in this city. I have never seen a single case where the Chinese merchants have attempted to pass their goods through the customs under their proper value, or where they have presented fictitious claims in the settlement of their affairs. Taken altogether, the Chinese merchants are more honourable, I think, than those of any other race—even more so than our own. I believe them to be the best mathematicians that I have ever seen. I have never had an action at law with them, not even a complaint on their part."

The manager of the Mercantile Bank says:—

"I have done a great deal of business with the Chinese and the Chinese merchants. I have found them sincere,

honourable, and perfectly loyal to their engagements. I have done business with them to the amount of several million piastres. I have not seen a single one who did not meet his engagements. They have never caused me the loss of a piastre—I wish I could say as much for the white race." Another witness supplies this pleasing fact :—

"I have never seen but a single drunken Chinaman since I have lived in California (since 1850), and I believe that he was one who began to be Americanized."

Mr. Macoudray, a San Francisco merchant, testifies that "during twenty-six years he had never lost a piastre through the Chinese merchants. Contracts with the Chinese," he adds, "are generally verbal agreements."

I will stop here. I think I have said enough to show that in what I have advanced I have rather understated the truth. We have heard the praise of the Chinese labourers and merchants from the mouth of their enemies—I will not weaken the value of their testimony by any commentary of my own. I might have quoted much more to the same effect, but I should have to take you through the 800 pages of the Report. I cannot, however, pass over in silence what is perhaps the most characteristic argument produced in the whole of this long Report.

One witness begins by loudly declaring that the morality of the Chinese is superior, but adds, "that the Chinese nation being decidedly sober and industrious, *it becomes necessary to protect the intemperance of the whites against Oriental temperance.*"

In other words, "we possess too many virtues to allow of our being tolerated." You can read this on page 105 and in other passages of the Report, where witnesses animated by the same spirit, prove that we must very quickly rebuild the great wall of China and shut up her virtues within that barrier.

I will not close without saying one word about our "commercial associations," whose solidarity has enabled us to bring aid to our less fortunate brethren in all parts of the world out of our own means.

These associations, better known in Europe under the quaint name of "congregations," bear a certain likeness to your Trade Guilds of the middle ages. They are founded freely in every city, without any interference whatever by the Government. They purchase a plot of land, upon which they build a temple, in which they hold their meetings. An elected manager administers the affairs of the association, centralizes information, and forwards it by circular to those whom it may concern.

These associations enjoy, in China, absolute liberty. This results from the principle universally adopted in my country of commercial liberty. Anybody can be a trader who pleases, without authorization, patent, or octroi duties! The Government never interferes, so you can understand what enfranchisement such liberty confers upon business. The dealer, on his side, depends only upon himself. He asks nothing of Government beyond common rights. He will not accept protection, and would feel astonished and humiliated, were it proposed to him. He believes himself enough of a big boy to protect himself. "Help thyself," is his motto.

It is with such principles that the Chinese trader engages in the pacific struggles of competition—struggles in which even his adversaries admit that he has always employed courteous weapons. Probably the modest claims, indefatigable labour, sobriety, extreme delicacy, joined to perfect knowledge of business, form the only ammunition which he employs.

Now I have described our merchant, his character, his habits, his mode of procedure. From the facts which I have mentioned the conclusion is easily drawn. It is, that for Europe, but especially for France, as for China, an immense advantage would result from direct relations, relations as continuous and as close as possible between French and Chinese traders. I have upheld this thesis with my countrymen, and I uphold it here for two reasons.

The first, that the two countries will acquire considerable

advantages from these relations. The second, that nothing brings nations together like community of interests.

Regarded from this point of view, international commerce may be considered as one of the most powerful factors of a good and cordial understanding between nations, perhaps the best of all the instruments of peace.

I am therefore certain to find my readers agree with me that Anglo-Franco-Chinese commercial relations should be developed as much as possible, and thereby an uninterrupted friendship between the West of Europe and the extreme East of Asia be established and cemented. I cannot help adding from my experience, that the French are as distinguished in Europe by their commercial rectitude as the Chinese are, wherever they are honestly reported on.

TCHENG-KI-TONG.

THE FAMILY LIFE OF THE HINDUS.

By a Brahmin Official.

Part I.

Hindu family life is an epitome of Hindu society, and both are governed by the same principles. The desire of self-sacrifice, the scrupulous regard for superiors, and the inclination to live together, which characterize Hindu society, also constitute the essential features of the Hindu home. Hindu society is influenced by religious beliefs, and in Hindu family life, Religion constitutes the main safeguard; it makes the members of the Hindu family more obedient, self-sacrificing, forgiving, faithful and honest, and less proud and self-seeking, than the members of families in some of the so-called highly civilized nations of Europe. It imparts moral strength, infuses a spiritual tone, and preserves the Hindu family from various civilized evils; without it there would be less peace, comfort, and happiness than now exist. It is religion that has so long saved the Hindu family system from disintegration; and it is only the infliction of so-called civilized ideas, so incompatible with the constitution of the Hindu family, that is gradually, but surely, introducing innovations that will first demoralize and then destroy it, unless the interference of, possibly, well-meaning meddlers is strenuously resisted.

To a foreigner, unacquainted with the inner life of a Hindu family, it would no doubt appear curious and strange that so many could live together amicably in one family; and they jump to the conclusion that the widows in it must be neglected, and, that the females generally are ill-treated, or, practically, imprisoned, and that Hindus must pass a very uncomfortable domestic life, when, instead of only one husband and his wife, so many persons of different degrees of relationship constitute a home. These are,

however, mistaken assumptions, and consequently the anxiety of restless and unhappy Europe for happy, if only undisturbed, old India, is misplaced. Anglicized Hindus, outcast men or women, hunters after fashion, sycophants of the supposed last whim of persons in authority, and others who want to show how civilized they are by denouncing everything Indian, may, perhaps, find fault with my views; but as no one can please every one in this world, it will not grieve me much if I displease such persons by telling the truth.

I will now try to convey, as briefly as possible, some information on the following points: (*a*) how Hindus live together; (*b*) how they treat widows; (*c*) how other females are treated.

In living together, it is necessary that *some* rules should be observed; it matters not whether the husband and wife alone constitute the family, or whether there are other relations forming part of it; the larger the number, and the more different the degrees of relationship, the greater is the necessity for observing the rules of family government. In the case of the Hindu family, these rules are so deeply impressed in the minds of its members—both male and female—that they are scrupulously observed by almost all the respectable classes of Hindus in every part of India. The first and foremost of the rules is the hospitality to kindred. Hindus are well known as a hospitable race; they are initiated into it from early childhood, and in many cases they pay the penalty of their virtue. It is well known that when one member of a family acquires a living, not only his nearest relatives, such as father, mother, brothers, and sisters, have a right of support from his earnings, but more distant relatives, especially if poor, have also a similar right. The brothers and sisters of parents, for instance, cannot be left unsupported, and an indigent aunt, especially when a widow, must be considered a member of the family. Thus the small income of most Hindus becomes hardly sufficient to make both ends meet,

and it certainly does not allow him to enjoy luxuries; but he does not complain of this—not because he is "uncivilized," but because he knows it to be his duty to support his relations: his religion enjoins it, his customs support it, and his ancestors gave effect to it by unbroken practice. When all these relatives must be supported, even at the risk of incurring debt, necessity compelled the Hindus to make their family system as harmonious as human nature would allow. The internal management of the family chiefly depends on the females; everything almost rests in their hands; the *pater familias* only supervises outdoor work, and watches that nothing extraordinary takes place in the family without his knowledge and consent. Within this limitation, his wife is the recognised head of the whole family; the wives of her sons, her own daughters—if they live in the family—and all other female relations, must be guided by her. Having learnt during the term of her own pupilage, she knows how to behave to others who are subordinate to her; once a pupil, she is now a teacher; her principal duty consists in directing the management of the entire indoor work; she alone is responsible if a guest or relative is not well received, so far as concerns her duty, or if a beggar goes away from the door disappointed. This latter duty cannot be sufficiently observed in wealthy families, because the gate-keepers never allow beggars to cross the threshold; in such houses it is generally the rule to distribute alms on a particular day of the week set apart for the purpose. Some rich families have special institutions of their own for distributing food to the poor; and although this practice is gradually dying out, there was a time when every rich family considered it to be its duty to support such an institution. The gradual abolition of these charitable institutions is due partly to the "civilized" notions of my countrymen, produced by English education, perhaps a smattering of political economy, and partly, because the ever-increasing modern necessities created by a variety of circumstances, including

the false notion of keeping up the reputation of the family, do not allow a sufficient margin for continuous and unostentatious charity. Besides the above duties, the *mater familias* must look to the comfort, peace, and health of all the other females of the house. She is respected by them, and in return treats them with affection. It is a universal custom amongst the Hindu respectable families that a young wife and husband should never speak to each other in the presence of their superiors, such as father, mother, uncle, aunt, or elder brother—this is simply out of respect for their position and age. An elder brother should never be addressed by the wife of his younger brother, nor does the custom allow him to look at her; but a younger brother can always speak with the wife of his elder brother, unless she is very young, in fact, much younger than himself. The latter custom, and not the proviso, is based on the maxim that an elder brother's wife should be considered as a mother; but, although a similar maxim makes an elder brother look upon the wife of his younger brother as a daughter, yet the custom is so strict in this case, that one cannot tread the shadow of the other; such is also the case between the maternal uncle and wife of his sister's son. I am not sure whether any religious injunction underlies this latter practice, but there is not the least doubt that this custom is scrupulously observed in all good families. A son's wife does not speak with the father or uncle of her husband, nor can she take off her veil before them. This rule is also observed with regard to all those persons who stand in a superior degree of relationship to the husband. A greater latitude, however, is always given, especially in the case of the husband's father, or collateral relations of superior degree, when the woman has reached a certain age. Such customs as these may differ in degree, perhaps, in different parts of India, but their general tendency is one and the same. It is not unusual that sisters, married to fortuneless persons, or because they are without means after the death of their husbands, seek

shelter under their paternal roof; this especially occurs in half-caste families. In such cases they enjoy the same privilege of taking a share in the management of household affairs as other females.

In a family so large, and comprising so many members of different degrees of relationship, it will be interesting to learn how their kitchen and feeding arrangements are carried on. The Hindu kitchen is very different from a European kitchen, not only in the shape of hearths and utensils used for cooking purposes, but also in cleanliness and the use of culinary instruments; those who have seen both English and Hindu kitchens know very well where the difference exists. *The Hindus consider a kitchen as a sacred place*, and no one is allowed to go there with shoes on. Even the members of the household are not always admitted, particularly not with unclean clothes, or allowed in that condition to touch the utensils employed for cooking purposes, especially when a widow uses them. In some parts of the country family members are obliged to take their food in the kitchen; and in others people have a separate place set apart for dining purposes. The Hindu idea is, that food, if prepared by their own women, is more pleasant, tasteful, and healthy than when this is done by mercenary cooks. Besides, this view is also consonant with the religious doctrine of the Hindus, that food prepared by persons of other castes should not be eaten; of course, when prepared by a Brahmin cook, people of the other three castes can partake of it; but in many cases a Brahmin cook cannot prepare food for a Brahmin of a different locality with a different Gotra,—a genealogical and often ethnical ramification too complicated to be mentioned here,—different customs, denominations, and peculiarity of the sect to which he may belong.

For the preservation of bodily health and mental purity, experience has taught us that it is better to get food prepared by members of one's family, and not by utter strangers; indeed, according to a branch in the religious

philosophy of the Hindus, the magnetism or aura existing in a person should be carefully preserved and jealously guarded against all influence of similar forces that exist in others, because this force is peculiar to each individual, according to his own thoughts, physical health, ways of living, and the food that he takes; and therefore it is apprehended that an impure or unhealthy force of this nature, if silently communicated to one who possesses a pure and healthy one, would most assuredly contaminate and injure both his physical and moral health; and that this force is, or can be, communicated either directly by touch or indirectly through prepared eatables, is generally believed. For this reason, as for others, the custom of shaking hands does not prevail among Hindus; and to this also may be partially attributed the Hindu fastidiousness for instance in selecting a bride. The bride has to undergo a severe scrutiny as regards particular marks in the face, as forehead, eyes, teeth, etc., and on the hands and feet; such signs are considered as prosperous or ominous according to their peculiar characteristics. It is supposed that a woman with peculiar marks is naturally bad at heart and easy in morals; and that she therefore must produce a disagreeable, unhealthy, and impure aura which, when communicated to others in the family, either directly or indirectly, would assuredly affect and contaminate them. This will necessarily produce degeneration in the family; the children will not be kind-hearted, charitable, straightforward, and virtuous, and would ill perform the duty of this as well as of the next world. To avoid all this the Hindus were anxious to observe certain rules that may be summed up in the phrase "noli me tangere" in relation to persons and things, though with every consideration for them; and when the necessities of business or of outer life generally compelled Hindus to face the risk of contamination, they knew how to proceed cautiously and wisely in the matter. But now, of course, Western civilization teaches us that our ancestors were savages and fools, that

whatever they said was humbug, and that therefore we must give up everything that is ancestral, and adopt everything that is foreign, *i.e.*, meat instead of vegetables; trousers instead of dhotis, nay, even give up the sublime spiritual philosophy of the Upanishads and the Bhagragita for the material wisdom of Huxley and Tyndall. Now and then a husk of our sciences and philosophy is snatched by an European, and we have bacilli revealed in medicine, famines prognosticated in solar spots, etc.; but the higher teachings of Hinduism, without which all material conquests are suicidal to mankind, is ignored. We are charged with the grossest idolatry; and consequently called benighted heathens; nay more, we are supposed to be unclean savages. so much so, that white people in India do not hesitate to show this feeling even on a short railway journey. But what is the false reason that underlies such ideas and treatment? Every one can understand that combined egotism, ignorance, and the sense of power, especially in Europeans of low birth, would produce unhealthy thoughts and give birth to tyranny and self-gratification; there are, however, still some Hindus in India who, in spite of their knowledge of English, adhere to their ancestral religion and practice. I pity those Hindu countrymen of mine who imagine that an English dinner is more tasteful or healthy than a native meal; that an English dress looks better than a native one; that there is greater bliss in an English wife than in the sacred spouse, the "devi," or goddess of our life,—here and hereafter,—and that irreligiousness and nihilism constitute the sublimest results of natural and metaphysical philosophy.

However, to resume my narrative. Amongst the Hindus, even in the richest families, the women consider it a pride to perform the kitchen duties with their own hands, especially when there is a festival or dinner party in the family. The reason for this is, that no member of the caste or brotherhood would take food in the house of

his caste-fellow unless it was prepared by a female who had come from a good family, and who was chaste and high-minded. This custom has still great force in the country; but in big towns like Calcutta the civilized young men have slackened this rule to some extent, although it is still respected among the old representatives of Hindu society. The service of the Brahmin cooks in a family was almost unknown in former days, this was not without reason; nothing is so dear to Hindu women as religion; they will not take their food unless they have been able to perform their daily religious ceremonies, it matters not how long other household duties may take their time. Twice a day at least, they are obliged to devote several hours to worship. Whether this is prejudice, stupidity, waste of time, or folly, as some people call it, I cannot say, but the fact cannot be disputed. Women in every country are more religious than men; but in India they may be said to be uncivilized and benighted because they spend their whole time in household and religious duties, instead of reading the last novel, going out shopping, attending theatres, balls, and a thousand other recreations, which the ladies of so-called civilized countries are accustomed to do; so that when one sometimes sees more women than men in public places and streets in Europe, one is tempted to ask, "Who then attends to the home?" A Hindu wife is taught by her religion to consider her husband as her lord; to him she is true both during his life and after his death; and she serves him with the unfailing devotion of a loving wife, and thus achieves her own salvation. She is not to leave a husband because he is poor and unable to keep her in opulence, or meet the demands of her caprice and extravagance; nor can she claim separation if the husband unfortunately suffers from any bodily infirmity, for the marriage tie, in the good castes, is spiritual, and its sublime tenderness is quite unintelligible to ordinary European comprehension. She must share both wealth and poverty with her husband, and must not neglect

her duty if he is in distress. According to Hindu law, the wife is called half the body; and a man is not considered complete unless he has his wife with him. Manu says, "A house is not a home, but a wife is a home," and no religious ceremony is perfect unless one's wife takes her share in it. The husband must treat his wife with fondness and consideration, must allow her to enjoy his society, must administer to her wants; it is, in fact, his religious duty to treat her like a good husband. Divorce is not known to Hindu law, nor is there any such practice among Hindus. Marriage once solemnized cannot be dissolved. When a woman is proved to be false to her nuptial tie, she is either sent back to her parents, to the great disgrace of the latter, or is kept in the husband's house in such a manner that she does not find a chance of indulging her unholy desires. Of course, it is a different thing altogether if she runs away from her husband's roof to a place of evil reputation; then, in that case, she is supposed to be dead, and everything about her is forgotten. No respectable Hindu would even like to appear in a court of justice to prosecute for damages against "the co-respondent," or like to see the face of the guilty wife, and produce evidence of guilty acts from his or her note-book. A Hindu woman of a respectable family is ever anxious for the reputation both of her own parents and her husband's family.

In cases of necessity such as illness, cooking is carried on by a female cook, generally a poor Brahmin widow in a Brahmin family; but this practice prevails rather in the capital cities than in the provinces (mofussil). In distributing food amongst the different members of the family, a regular system is prescribed for observance in a well-regulated Hindu family. When the time for meal arrives, and before the male members have actually occupied their separate seats, the females of the family of every age or degree can bring the dishes and place them before each seat, after which the members are invited to come to the

dining room; but if any person should desire to have a particular kind of food in the midst of the dinner, then only that female would, as a rule, appear who is oldest in age and highest in order of relationship; in her presence the younger lady would never appear; except in cases of extreme necessity, for instance when the first lady is too old or, on account of infirmity or illness, is unable to discharge her duty, then it is her business to stand there and look on while the next lady executes the errand. In very rich families, especially of the towns, the ladies now do not do the cooking; on the contrary they hate it, and spend their whole time in other things. It is a great misfortune to middle-class people that their women folk also, by the indirect effect of modern civilization, are fast forgetting this most important accomplishment. They are beginning to think that cooking for the husband and his family is a menial service, and beneath their dignity and grace.

There is a growing tendency on the part of the girls of the present day to confine themselves to knitting stockings or reading a few pages of a favourite book; this infection they have perhaps caught from the so-called "lady doctors" and young missionary women, supposed to be models of virtue and martyrs of religion; or perhaps they wish to imitate the European ladies in India, who like so many butterflies occasionally visit India in company of bees to collect honey from different flowers; they see that the European family is generally only husband and wife, that the European ladies do no kitchen work and are always engaged either in attending balls, concerts, theatres, shows or in shopping, in fact in everything except perhaps the necessary domestic duties of a mother, a wife, and a housewife. But this is a great mistake on the part of the Indian women. A European lady in India can afford to live comfortably like a princess, because the income of her husband is so large that there cannot be any comparison between the two; then she must be provided with all she desires, even at the risk of incurring debt, nay, *horribile dictu*, sometimes

at the sacrifice of her husband's reputation, and perhaps his very appointment : instances of such cases are not very rare in the annals of Anglo-Indian life. Then again, the society, manners, religion, and customs of European ladies differ so much from those of an Indian woman that there can scarcely be anything in common between them. It is all very well to talk of social reform and of improving the condition of Indian women; but those who are the real friends of the nation ought not to forget that it will be the worse for the community, especially for the middle and poorer classes of the people, if their women are allowed to imitate the example of a European lady's style of living in India. Our homes will not be so comfortable and happy if our women are taught to forget their own domestic customs and learn a foreign practice.

When any dispute arises amongst the female members of the family, if it is amongst those who are under the protection of the mistress of the house, the latter acts both as a judge and an arbitrator, and settles the complaints according to the merits of the case, the circumstances attending it and the position of the contending parties; but when the mistress herself becomes a complainant, then the matter is decided by all the female members except the party accused, collecting together, so as it were to form a sort of council of their own, and contribute according to each ones wits and strength towards the amicable settlement of the dispute, by pacifying, reproving, or condemning one party or the other. It is only in very rare instances that a female relation of another family or a neighbour's wives are invited to step in and interfere in the matter.

Such female quarrels seldom reach the ear of the master of the house; and unless there is something very serious he never interferes directly one way or the other. Thus the whole self-adjusting machinery of family life works with perfect harmony and at once remedies any evil that appears to threaten its peace and comfort; the beauty is, that this is done without the least aid from the law courts, the public

press, and other demonstrations which the West has contrived to secure a similar end. So long as the head of the family is all right, the rest of the members will get on very well; hence the great superiority of the head of the family recognised by the Shastras, and hence the great responsibility attached to him.

It is a great mistake to suppose that there is no happiness amongst the female members of our family. I should say that, in their humble homes, they are at least as happy as any good English lady in her palatial house. Some think that we are not kind to our women; but whence outsiders infer this is probably from the fact that we do not allow our women to walk about the streets and attend public places, etc., as ladies do in London. This prohibition Englishwomen consider is a great misfortune to our women, who are therefore supposed to be very miserable, trodden-down, having no liberty, and consequently no true enjoyment of life.

But here I may point out, that liberty of the body does not necessarily mean liberty of the soul; nor are the pleasures of life the same for women of the East and the West. Each has a different ideal of happiness; it would be unwise to measure the so-called happiness or misery of the former by the totally different standard of the latter. A *mém saheb* (European lady in India), in her gown and bodice, a "Mussummat" in her paijama, or dhoti—each has her own ideal that suits her better, and each will be uncomfortable and unhappy if transplanted from one dress into another, from one diet to another, or from an indigenous to a foreign mode of life, thought, and action.

A BRAHMIN OFFICIAL.

ARE ENGLISH WOMEN LEGALLY INFERIOR TO THEIR MAHOMEDAN SISTERS?

"WE have referred you to the Mahomedan Law, which is binding upon all, from the crowned head to the meanest subject; a Law interwoven with a system of the wisest, the most learned, and the most enlightened jurisprudence that ever existed in the world."*

It is strange that the English people should, after a connection of more than a hundred years with the Mussulmans of Hindustan, be entirely in the dark regarding the real religious, legal, and political principles established by the Prophet of Arabia. What could be more ridiculous than the belief among the masses of England, that "Mahomet's coffin hangs between the earth and the sky," or that "Mahomedan women have no souls," and many other similar notions? English schoolboys may repeat with correctness the names of rivers from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, or the names of the Moghul emperors of Delhi, but not one man in a hundred knows whether the Koran teaches idolatry or a pure theism.

What is the cause of so deplorable an ignorance? During the Crusades many mischievous tales regarding the customs and religious beliefs of the Moslems were circulated in Europe by Christian priests. Unfortunately, all those tales were handed down as facts from century to century. There was no work in English giving a clear view of the principles of Mahomedanism. All that was believed about the religion of Mahomed was, "that the Koran and the sword go together," and that "Mahomed's Paradise is full of bewitching Houris." In this century of supposed light and

* Edmund Burke (Impeachment of Warren Hastings).

learning, however, the principles of the important faiths of the world have become the subjects of superficial study, and, along with other faiths, Mahomedanism has also been cursorily examined. There are numerous books written on "Mahomed and Mahomedanism," in English, by persons who are said to be indisputable authorities on the subject, but who are merely afflicted with an incurable *cacoëthes scribendi.*

When other means of acquiring fame and fortune fail, persons of that class cross the seas for a time, and then return home to manufacture books, which,—like a café I once visited in Paris and fled from,—contain every kind of intoxicant, but not the fragrant bean of which it usurps the name. Their books on "Mahomedanism" give a detailed account of the fables of Arabia, the fairy tales of the East, the supposed dogmas of every religion under the sun, but never the true principles of Islám. How many of the English and American book-makers on "Mahomed and Mahomedanism" have even a slight acquaintance with Arabic, a thorough knowledge of which language is indispensable for a correct appreciation of Mahomedan law and religion? I may safely say: not one in ten. One, whom I pressed for his authority regarding the statement that "women have no souls, according to the Mahomedan religion," confessed that in a book written to sell, the British public required such allusions; whilst missionaries and missionary societies could not exist, if the pockets of subscribing audiences were not, from time to time, stimulated by such accounts of the religions which they seek to subvert.

Deriving their chief support, as they do, from the Christian women of Great Britain, the missionaries take care to represent in the blackest colours the degradation of women in all countries except their own. Their sermons about the Moslem women teach that nothing can exceed their miserable condition; that their husbands are enjoined by their religion to confine them within the inner-

most cells of their houses, where care is taken to exclude light and air, and that, as soulless beings, they have no concern with the next world.

Seeing that Mahomedanism is misrepresented in England, some of the learned Mahomedans of India, during the last decade, have been publishing books in English explanatory of their faith; and a revolution in thought, partly due to these and similar efforts, is being gradually produced in England regarding the faith of Islám.

At a meeting held on the 17th of July, in London, I had the honour to point out the legal rights of Mahomedan women to their sisters of Europe and America, assembled together to discuss their own position in Church and State. The surprise of the audience knew no bound when they found that the legal and political position of Moslem women, whom they regarded as little better than animated dolls, was superior to their own.

As so much ignorance regarding Mahomedan women prevails in this country, and as one of the greatest objections, too often put forward by bigoted Christian writers, against the religion of Mahomed, is the degradation of women, I take this opportunity of showing in these pages what are the rights of Moslem women.

So far from degrading women, Islám has elevated them to the highest position that they can reasonably claim. Islám gives greater privileges to women than Christianity; and in many Christian countries (England included) the position of women, only a quarter of a century ago, was far inferior to that of Mahomedan women in every country, including even "the dark continent."

Let us, then, compare the laws regarding women made by the founder of Islám in the seventh century with the laws of Christian England in the nineteenth. The inquiry is confined to the enlightened reign of Queen Victoria; and if it is shown that in these progressive days the position of English women is still inferior to that of men, an idea may be formed of their condition in darker ages.

I will first produce the evidence of one of the most accomplished daughters of England, whom the "men-made" laws of this country most seriously affect.

Mrs. F. Fenwick Miller, speaking at the National Liberal Club, February 25th, 1890, said:—

"But the principal reason—the reason that, after all, puts heart and soul into our work,—is, that we would fain avoid for women the sufferings of slavery. . . . The position of women in this England of ours, before women dared to speak for themselves, . . . the condition under which the women of this country lived till quite lately, . . . was *simply slavery*."

The most important laws that affect women in general are the laws of property, marriage, and divorce. First, the laws of property. According to the English law, a bad husband or a cruel father can, by testamentary disposition, deprive his wife and daughters, if he wish, of every shred of his property. An old and faithful wife or a good and virtuous daughter have no means of stopping a bad husband or a cruel father from "willing" the whole of his property in favour of any person he may meet with in the street. It may be replied, that the natural ties of the man will prevent him from doing such manifest injustice; but this is no justification for a bad or imperfect law. The Mahomedan law, on the contrary, gives an injured wife or daughter full relief. It only gives away one-third of the deceased man's property in accordance with his will, and then constitutes those as "*legal sharers*" who, without the tender care of the Mahomedan law, might be neglected, namely, the wife and daughters. When their claim is satisfied in accordance with certain prescribed rates of division, then alone do the residuary heirs, such as sons, get what is left of the property. The very name of "legal sharers" applies, in the Mahomedan law of inheritance, to those whom the law is *first* called on to protect, such as women; whereas the *last* sharers, according to the Christian law of England, are those who

are too weak or too poor to enforce their natural claim, namely, defenceless women.

Coming to the position of married women of England as regards property, we find that, until 1870, and even until 1882, the date of "The Married Women's Property Act," *they and it had no separate existence at all in the eyes of the law.* One of the highest authorities in English Common Law, Dr. Herbert Broom, says:—"The effect of marriage at common law was to merge during coverture the existence of the wife in that of the husband, and to constitute them one person. Hence, at law, no contract could be made between husband and wife without the intervention of trustees; the femme, moreover, being considered as *sub potestate viri*, and deemed incapable of contracting with the baron. "A man," therefore, "cannot grant anything to his wife, or enter into covenant with her; for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence, and to covenant with her would be only to covenant with himself. . . . A further effect of marriage at common law, was to vest in the husband the wife's personalty in possession, to entitle him to the rents and profits of her real estate, and to confer on him the right of reducing into possession, for his own benefit, her chattels real and choses in action."

The above was the law of England for centuries. Let us compare it with the law laid down by Mahomet. What is the effect of marriage on a Mahomedan woman? The learned Justice Moulevi Syed Amir Ali states: "The contract of marriage gives the man no power over the woman's person beyond what the law defines, and none whatever upon her goods and property. A Mussulman wife retains in her husband's household all the rights which the law vests in her as a responsible member of society. She can be sued as a *femme sole.* She can receive property without the intervention of trustees. She has a distinct lien upon her husband's estate for her ante-nuptial settlement. Her rights as a mother do not depend for their recognition

upon the idiosyncrasies of individual judges. She can enter into binding contracts with her husband, and proceed against him in law if necessary."

This law has been in force throughout the Muslim world for the last 1250 years, and will remain as long as Mohammedanism itself continues to exist. To all reasonable human beings it will appear that the law of England regarding women was extremely debasing. But the unjust law is said to be based upon the teaching of Christ: "Wherefore they are no more twain but one flesh" (Matt. xix. 6).

According to this teaching, a wife has been supposed by Christian divines to be incapable of having a separate legal existence. Is Christianity therefore responsible for the civil death of women in England and several other Christian countries?

Again Dr. Brown says: "Husband and wife being in law one person, it followed that neither could maintain an action for tort against the other, *ex. gr.* for an assault; nor did it make any difference that prior to the commencement of the action the marriage had been dissolved by a decree absolute in the Divorce Court."

As neither of the parties could bring an action for an assault, it is evident that they had to decide the matter between themselves; the natural consequence of which was, that the stronger had always the best of it. The wife, therefore, had always to give in to superior force in England.

"Further, at common law the husband could recover, in his own name, wages accruing to his wife, or the profits of a business carried on by her; he could sue for her work and labour, and for goods sold or money lent by her."

What could be more unjust, than that a husband who might have neglected all his duties, who might even have deserted his wife, should come and demand, under the strict authority of the law, the money which his poor neglected and deserted wife had earned by hard physical or

intellectual labour. Even the wife of a Bedouin Arab, were she able to understand what literary robbery is, would be startled to hear the following:—"In the case of the Honourable Mrs. Norton, the husband could even require the publishers of his wife's books to pay the profits of them to himself, and not to her; just as much as the poor laundress's husband could sell her mangle or claim her week's pay. Surely one of the principal tokens of slavery is, that the slave has to work for the benefit of another, and not for his own benefit, and that the fruits of his exertions can be taken forcibly and with the sanction of the law to enrich another. Yet that was the state of the English wives."

Compare the above with Mahomedan Law. Mr. Justice Amir Ali says:—"No doctrine of coverture is recognised, and her (the wife's) property remains hers in her individual right. . . . She can alienate or devise her property without asking the leave of her husband. . . . Her earnings, acquired by her individual exertions, cannot be wasted by a prodigal husband, nor can she be ill-treated with impunity by one who is brutal." It will be seen that the property of a Mahomedan woman cannot on any pretext be touched by her husband. He has no more legal right upon the wages of his wife than an utter stranger.

A Mahomedan wife can sue any of her debtors without an intermediary, nay, she can sue even her husband on any contract. What could an English wife do before 1870? *She could sue no one without her legal master.* Just as, in the Roman Law, a slave could bring no action for individual wrongs, he having no *persona* in the eyes of the law, so also, according to English Law, a wife could bring no action for injuries done to her, without her husband's consent, the redress being given, *not to her*, but to *him*. If the husband was the wrong-doer, redress was almost impossible. As a case illustrative of the complete helplessness of women in England only a few years ago, I submit

the following:—" It was a case in which a woman had been deserted for many years by her husband, who had gone to America. She was a working woman, and just gained enough to live upon, and to bring up a family of small children whom the husband had left on her hands. She met with a railway accident and was seriously injured. When she attempted to bring an action for damages against the railway company, the company successfully defended it, and obtained a non-suit on the ground that, being a married woman, she could not sue for damages for any wrong that had been done to her. Some one took up her case, and after much difficulty found the husband in America, and induced him to allow himself to be joined in the suit with his wife, so that she could sue the railway company; and as it was shown that she was incapacitated for the rest of her life from earning her livelihood, the railway company was ordered to pay £1,000 damages. This was not, of course, a very large sum, but it was sufficient to have kept the unfortunate woman out of the workhouse. But the husband had been too well-informed of his and his wife's legal position. When the £1,000 came to be paid, he held out his hand for the cheque. It was necessarily paid to him—the law so ordered it in compensation for the damage done to his property; with that money he returned to America, leaving the woman who had suffered the damage to go into the workhouse without a penny to support her. This is one illustration—what need to give more?"

Having briefly compared the law of property as it concerns women, I proceed to consider the laws of marriage. The simple and natural laws regarding marriage prevalent among the Jews became spiritualized by the teachings of Christ. In fact, matrimony, instead of being desired, was greatly feared, or was only tolerated as a human infirmity by His disciples.

The Roman Catholic priests, even to this day, are not allowed to marry. I may also quote the declaration of the

great Council of Trent, A.D. 1545-64. "If any one shall say that the state of marriage is to be preferred to the state of virginity or celibacy, and that it is not better and more blessed to continue in virginity or celibacy than to be joined in matrimony, let him be accursed (anathema)." Sess. xxiv. 10. Such being the case, the laws relating to marriage were never perfected in Christianity.

Mahommed was himself a married man, and a father. Perhaps the greatest service he did to his followers and to mankind was to frame laws of marriage, giving distinct rights to men and women. He knew that human nature was frail, and that the rights of women were too often overlooked by men; and so, at a great meeting of his followers at Mount Arafat, he laid down the principle of equal responsibility between the sexes, which has been always recognised and practically carried into effect. In his discourse, he said: "Ye men, ye have rights over your wives, and your wives have rights over you." Let us then compare the law laid down by him in the 7th century, in the days of supposed intellectual and spiritual darkness, with the law of England in the 19th century, a period of civilization and learning.

Before the year 1836 there was no legal provision in England for marriage, except by the agency of the Established Church. The contract of marriage, independently of its religious aspects, had no civil character whatever. The validity of a marriage of persons professing different faiths depended upon the rites of the Established Church. If a Dissenter wanted to marry a Nonconformist, she was compelled to suffer herself to be married according to the rites and ceremonies of a Church in which she had no belief, and the followers of which looked upon her as a heretic. In a country like England, consisting of inhabitants of varied nationalities, creeds, and faiths, it was highly improper and unjust to make the validity of marriage dependent upon the rites of the Established Church, especially when all sorts of religious beliefs were fully

tolerated. To meet the demands of an ever-growing nation, the State was compelled to disregard the narrow views of the Church, and to make marriage entirely a civil act. But the English law even now directs that marriages shall take place either before the Superintendent-registrar or in a registered place of worship, at authorized hours and after some previous notice, or proclamation of banns, or licence.

A Mahomedan marriage is a civil contract, requiring no priest or any sacred rites. Its validity depends on *I'jab*, or proposal on the one side and *Kabûl*, or acceptance on the other. Like all other contracts of partnership, marriage can be formed by the mutual agreement of the parties, and can similarly be dissolved if circumstances require a dissolution. The testimony of two witnesses makes the contract complete. It will be seen that a Mahomedan marriage is the most simple and natural mode of the formation of the nuptial tie. Mahomed saw the evil effects of undue interference with the institution of marriage, and that needless impediments thrown in its way could not produce the happiness for which it was designed.

The English law is also inferior to the Mahomedan law as regards the liability of the husband to support the wife. This question is very important, because if there is a point in which a husband can claim superiority over a wife, it is in that he undertakes to provide for her, and is pledged to protect her. In cases of desertion, or wilful neglect to support the wife, the law no doubt allows her to pledge her husband's credit; but the deserting husband probably has no credit with anybody. The leading case on the subject is Montague *v.* Benedict, in which the judge says, "Where a tradesman takes no pains to ascertain whether the necessity exists or not, he supplies the articles at his own peril; and if it turn out that the necessity does not exist, the husband is not responsible for what may be furnished to his wife without his knowledge. Where a tradesman provides articles for a person whom he knows to be a married

woman, it is his duty, if he wishes to make the husband responsible, to inquire if she has her husband's authority or not; for where he chooses to trust her in the expectation that she will pay, he must take the consequence, if she does not." The above is the law in theory; and what is it in practice? Mrs. Miller affirms that, in such cases, "the law said that the only way in which a woman, a married mother, could procure maintenance for her children, from their father, the only way in which a deserted wife could obtain a contribution to her own maintenance, would be by going into the workhouse."

Let us see the law laid down by Mahomed on the subject. Syed Ameer Ali says: "The husband is legally bound to maintain *his wife and her domestic servants*, whether she and her servants belong to the Moslem faith or not. . . . The wife is not entitled merely to maintenance in the English sense of the word, but has a right to claim a habitation for her own exclusive use, to be provided consistently with the husband's means." On this subject the "Hidaya," the most important book on Mahomedan Law says: "It is incumbent on the husband to provide a separate apartment for his wife's habitation, to be solely and exclusively appropriated by her, because this is essentially necessary to her, and is therefore her due, the same as her maintenance; and the word of God appoints her a dwelling-house as well as a subsistence."

Furthermore, the English law does not make any provision for the maintenance of a woman in the first year of her widowhood, in which period she is generally very helpless and miserable. On this subject the Koran distinctly says, "Such of you as shall die and leave wives, ought to bequeath to them a year's maintenance." A Christian wife of a Moslem can even compel her husband, if he has the means, to provide her with some conveyance to take her to her usual place of worship on the Sabbath day.

Under Mahomedan law a married woman has one more important advantage over her Christian sister in

England, viz., that of ante-nuptial settlement. "In order to constitute a valid marriage," says Mr. Ameer Ali, "the Mahomedan law requires that there should always be a consideration moving from the husband in favour of the wife, for her sole and exclusive use and benefit." Fatawa-i-Kazi Khan says: "Dower is so necessary to marriage, that if it were not mentioned at the time of the marriage, or in the contract, the law will presume it by virtue of the contract itself." This dower, or sum of money, the wife can demand at any time she may like, and in its satisfaction she has a distinct lien on the property of the husband. The object of this provision is to enable a woman to maintain herself in case of accident, desertion, or separation.

Let us now examine the laws of Divorce. I have already stated that the institution of marriage has been burdened with unnecessary impediments among Christians. "What, therefore, God has joined together, let not man put asunder," was further confirmed by a declaration put forth by the Council of Trent. "The first parent of the human race, by Divine inspiration, declared the bond of matrimony to be perpetual and indissoluble when he said, 'This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh: therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave to his wife, and the two shall be one flesh." The Church of Rome and many eminent authorities even in the Church of England have held the doctrine, that the bond of marriage is of so special and sacred a nature that if once lawfully constituted it can never be dissolved except by death. Strictly speaking, there was no really lawful divorce in England before 1857; it may be said that divorce, in its full sense, as the dissolution of an existing lawful marriage, was no part of the regular law of this country. The decrees of divorce of the courts of the Church "had no authority, and it was contrary to their principles and precedents to dissolve a marriage which once lawfully subsisted for any cause whatever." The decree was given for some marriage which was formally celebrated, but for some reasons had

been void from the beginning. Sir William Blackstone, writing in the year 1765, says: "Divorce *a mensa et toro* is when the marriage is just and lawful *ab initio*, and therefore the law is tender of dissolving it; but for some supervenient cause it becomes improper or impossible for the parties to live together, as in the case of intolerable ill-temper or adultery in either of the parties. For the canon law, which the common law follows in this case, deems so highly and with such mysterious reverence of the nuptial tie, that it will not allow it to be unloosed *for any cause whatsoever that arises after the union is made*. And this is said to be built on the divine revealed law . . . but with us in England adultery is only a *cause of separation from bed and board*" (Blackstone, Book I. Chap. xv. Sec. II. 2).

Even adultery, then, it seems, was not deemed a sufficient cause for the complete dissolution of marriage by the learned divines of England. For many years divorces for adultery were only granted by special Act of Parliament; and in almost all cases the divorces granted were to men and not to women. In fact, divorce was practically refused to women. "There were only four cases altogether in the whole record of Ecclesiastical Divorce Courts and the House of Lords (and they were of inconceivably abominable offences on the man's part), in which a woman had been allowed to obtain a divorce." It may be fitting to mention here that £30 or £40 are required to institute proceedings in a Divorce Court. As adultery on the woman's part was the only cause for the dissolution of the nuptial tie, it is reported that a man could very easily obtain one by paying another to confess to having committed adultery with his wife. Mrs. Miller says, "And yet, though her fair fame means so much to a woman, the law in those days allowed a man to obtain a divorce from his wife on the ground of her adultery without permitting her, either in person or by counsel, to have one word to say on the charge, to utter one sound

in her own defence. . . . And there was a case of Lord Brougham's where a man had thus obtained a divorce from his wife, the alleged lover having ostensibly paid him damages of £50, when some time afterwards, by an unusual combination of circumstances, the case was reopened and the unfortunate woman was able to prove that the consummation of marriage had never actually taken place, and that, as Lord Lyndhurst put it, she was 'as pure a maid as when she was a little girl.'" With Islám every woman has distinct rights, by which she can compel a cruel husband to give her a divorce. In 1857 a Court for the determination of Divorce and Matrimonial Causes was established; this little improvement was greatly resisted by the clergy of the Established Church, on the ground that the measure was contrary to the teachings of Christ and to the principles of marriage as propounded in the Bible; and from this it would appear that the oppressive laws involving the degradation of women, are more or less based upon the teachings of the Church. Since that time there has been little or no improvement in that direction.

The present laws of England regarding divorce are extremely imperfect, and even cruel. Divorce cannot be obtained, except for adultery. Does the law provide any remedy for evils resulting from unfortunate marriages, where it can do so without sacrificing numerous interests? No! Is there any divorce in the following circumstances: 1. Desertion, 2. Penal servitude, 3. Insanity, 4. Drunkenness with cruelty, 5 Incompatibility of temper? What remedy does the English law provide for all the above difficulties? "A woman, it may be shortly after her marriage, is abandoned, her whole happiness and her prospects and position seriously and painfully affected; she is slighted and treated with contemptuous silence and indifference—it may be, deprived of all means of subsistence; she may be without food and clothes for her children—and yet the English law says it is a right and

proper thing that the man should be permitted to treat her in this way, not only for some years, but until she has lost youth and hope; and it leaves her, without remedy, gradually to sink into her grave, her life ruined and wasted and her heart broken." It may be urged that in many cases there is allowed a judicial separation; but this remedy is worse than the evil itself, as the woman suffers the pangs of widowhood without the option of marrying again. It saves the innocent party from the oppressive conduct of the guilty, but this relief is only at the expense of being excluded from the benefits of married life. Again, "in the present state of the law it is generally supposed the wisest course for the parties to put up with their difficulties as best they may." Now certainly some forbearance is necessary and desirable, but there should be a limit even to this, lest it degenerate into a mere sullen tolerance or indifference. The best lawyers of England admit that the law of their country with regard to Divorce is extremely imperfect, and even cruel. Mr. Davidson says: "The law of England is unreasonable in this matter. It ignores facts, it refuses remedies where dire necessity, unanswerable reason, and expediency demand them; and by reason of its blindness and its harshness and its folly, it operates in such a manner as to defeat—and defeat with the most signal and complete success—the very object it professes to have in view."

Having shown the extreme cruelty and injustice of the law of Christian England regarding the question at issue, I shall now proceed to examine the law of Mahomedans on the treatment of women and the provisions for divorce. I shall cite the highest authority. The Koran says; "Men's souls are naturally inclined to covetousness; but if ye be kind towards women and fear to wrong them, God is well acquainted with what ye do." Again, "And if ye fear a breach between the husband and wife, send a judge out of his family and a judge out of her family. If they shall desire a reconciliation, God will cause them to agree, for

God is knowing and wise" (chapter on "women"). Again, "Therefore, turn not from a wife with all manner of aversion, nor leave her like one in suspense; if ye agree, and fear to abuse your wives, God is gracious and merciful; but if they separate, God will satisfy them both of His abundance." It will be seen that a reconciliation is enjoined in the above; but, at the same time, if it be impossible, men and women equally may obtain separation. The very act of reconciliation is to be brought about, not by the representative of the husband only, but that of the wife also. I have already said that a Mahomedan marriage is a contract entered into by mutual agreement, and its dissolution is allowed under certain circumstances at the initiative of *either party*. The edicts of the Emperor Alamgir, or the Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, say: "When married parties disagree, and are apprehensive that they cannot observe the bounds prescribed by the Divine laws (*i.e.*, cannot perform the duties imposed on them by the conjugal relationship), the woman can release herself from the tie by giving up some property in return, in consideration of which the husband is to give her a *khula*, and when they have done this, a divorce will take place." The sum above referred to is necessary, because the wife, at the formation of the nuptial tie, receives, or is entitled to receive, the dower from the husband for her exclusive use. And if she, without any fault on the husband's part, obtains a divorce to which he consents, it is but fair that she should give up the dower, or even pay a little sum for putting him to inconvenience. This kind of divorce is called *khula*, and the divorce by mutual consent *mubarát*. When the dissolution of the marriage tie proceeds from the husband it is called *talak*. In all other cases, on the application of either party, the judge, if he thinks right, is authorized to cancel the marriage. However, it must not be supposed that the Mahomedan law encourages divorce. Ibrahim Halebi says: "The law gives to the man primarily the faculty of dissolving the marriage, *if the wife, by her indocility*

or her bad character, renders the married life unhappy; but, in the absence of serious reasons, no Mussulman can justify a divorce either in the eyes of religion or the law. If he abandon his wife, or put her away from simple caprice, he draws upon himself the divine anger, for 'the curse of God,' said the Prophet, 'rests on him who repudiates his wife capriciously.'" The wife is entitled to a divorce for the following among other reasons:—(1) When the husband leaves her without any means of subsistence; (2) when he treats her habitually in a cruel manner; (3) when he forces her to do labour of a kind which is considered degrading to a woman in her position; (4) when he is in the habit of threatening her with bodily injuries, etc., etc.

Again, if the divorce proceeds from the misconduct of the husband, he has to make certain provision for her maintenance during the *'iddat*, or period of probation. The Koran says:—"Let the women whom ye divorce dwell in some part of the houses wherein ye dwell, according to the room and conveniences of the habitations which ye possess; and make them not uneasy, that ye may reduce them to straits. And if they be with child, expend on them what shall be needful, until they be delivered of their burden. And if they suckle their children for you, give them their hire, and consult among yourselves according to what shall be just and reasonable. And if ye be put to a difficulty herein, another woman shall suckle the child for him. Let him who has plenty expend proportionately in the maintenance of the mother and the nurse out of his plenty." The English law very imprudently overlooks one important fact. A widow, or a divorced woman, has no obligation to wait for any fixed length of time from the period of the death of her husband or the time of divorce, before she remarries. The Mahomedan law lays down very wisely that a woman shall wait for three months in such cases before remarriage.

The most important point now to be considered is: What

provision does the English Law make with regard to the custody of children in cases of divorce or separation? In many cases mothers are often deprived of the custody of their children. Mrs. Miller says, that within the hearing of her own ears an English judge declared from the bench: "The English law does not recognise the mother at all; the English law only sees the father and the child." This is extremely absurd and inhuman. Let Mrs. Miller, who is a mother, speak herself on the point: "Surely, if there is anything that any human being has a natural right to, a mother has a natural right to the love and the bringing-up and the daily care of her children. . . . for I am unable to conceive that a father has any right at all to the custody of his child, which can for a moment be put in competition with the right of the mother. . . . It is probably because I am a mother, and not a father, that it appears to me that the claims of the mother to the custody of the young child so absolutely outweigh those of the father, that really the father ought not to come into the question as such at all."

I am sure Mrs. Miller will be delighted to learn that 1250 years ago the greatest of law-givers, Mahomed, took exactly the same view. He is of opinion "that the claims of the mother to the custody of the young child so absolutely outweigh those of the father, that the father really ought not to come into the question as such at all." For, the Fatawa-i-Alamgiri says, "The mother is of all persons the best entitled to the custody of her infant children during the connubial relationship as well as after its dissolution." The mother, according to Mahomedan Law, is entitled to the custody of her daughters until they arrive at puberty, and in many cases until they are married. In the case of male children, the rule is, that the mother is entitled to the custody of the boy until he is independent of her care. So completely is the Mahomedan law in favour of women in this matter, that the right of custody on the death of the mother is given, not to the father, but

to the female relations of the mother. The order of the right runs thus: First mother, then mother's mother, failing these, full sister, and then it passes on to the mother's sisters, and after all to father's sisters. The rule is, that women are preferred to men, and the relations of the mother to the relations of the father.

Thus far I have examined the laws relating to wives and children. I shall now set before my readers the laws relating to the treatment of parents. In the English law, though there is a strong moral obligation on the part of children to support their poor parents, there is little or no legal liability on them to do so. The Mahomedan law is very clear upon this point. The Fatawa-i-Alamgiri says: "Daughters as well as sons are liable for the maintenance of their poverty-stricken parents." Again, "When a mother is poor and the son is able to work for his livelihood, he is bound to support her according to his means, though he be in straitened circumstances himself." Lastly, "When a son is able to maintain one parent or grandparent only, the mother or the grandmother, as the case may be, has the preferential right." No law, perhaps, enjoins so much respect to mothers as the Mahomedan law. The founder of Islám says: "Paradise is under the feet of the mother." Even in these days there are to be found in the capital of Turkey, and many places in Egypt, young Mahomedans carrying on their backs their old and decrepit Christian mothers to their chapels on Sunday, and waiting there till the end of the service to carry them back home. What Christian country can show such noble examples of warm devotion to mothers?

There is one more noticeable fact in the Mahomedan world regarding the dissolution of marriage. Although the laws of marriage are so simple and natural, and although there is so much facility afforded for the dissolution of the nuptial tie, it is a singular and remarkable fact that in a country like India, inhabited by nearly sixty millions of Mahomedans, divorces are rarely heard of, while in such

a small island as England, not a single day passes that I do not read or hear about a divorce case, notwithstanding the stringent laws.

It seems to me that the very liberty given to the Moslems acts upon them as a natural check, by making them respect each other's rights and privileges. Edmund Burke, being once asked an antidote for the abuse of liberty in the House of Commons, said, "Give them more liberty."

I am of opinion, therefore, that if the laws regarding divorce be further facilitated in England, the Divorce Court will have comparatively less work to do, and the services of at least one judge may be dispensed with.

My objects in writing this article are, first, to enlighten the British Public on the true principles of Mahomedanism; and secondly, to bring about a friendly feeling between Englishmen and the Mahomedans that come in contact with them. If any of the above objects be gained by this feeble attempt, I shall think myself amply repaid.

RAFI-UD-DIN AHMAD.

THE ANCIENT PELASGI AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

In the fourth year of Rames-su II., at the close of the fifteenth century B.C., the nations of Asia Minor sent soldiers to the Egyptian army as auxiliaries or allies commanded by Maurnout, king of the Hittites; these were the Dardanians of Troy. In the twenty-fourth year of the same reign a treaty was concluded between Egypt and the Hittites, the text of which is inscribed at Thebes, after which the Dardanians returned to their own country: here then is monumento-historical mention of the Dardanion or Dardanians, and of the Trojans being in alliance with Egypt shortly before the Trojan war; soon after, in the subsequent reign of Rames-su III., the Pelasgians made a descent in force on Egypt from the north and south, and from the west and south on the Trojans, the allies of Egypt: these two events then were probably nearly synchronous; and the Achaiôi, afterwards called Danaouon, Δαναοι of the Peloponnesus, may be identified with those who attacked Troy.* The Tikkri, or Teucri, were also a Dardanian race in Asia Minor, from the north coast and islands of the Mediterranean, and both sides Palesta of origin; and when transferred by Ramses-su III. to the neighbourhood of Gaza, as settlers, gave the name of Palestine to that district, known later as Peleschisi or Philistines, the constant enemies of the Israelites, from whom they differed in race, the one being Ayran and the other Shemitic. The Phœnicians, also Shemitic, were at this time, (1303 B.C.), the merchant traders of the Levant, manned the Egyptian navy as allies, and aided in vanquishing the Pelasgi, whom Ulysses describes as pirates and

* Between the reign of Merenmthah and Rhames-su III., the Danaan was substituted on the throne of Argos for the Achaian dynasty of Inachus, hence the change of designation.

robbers (Od. xv. 425), though they were hardly by his account more so than the Phœnicians, both being given to kidnapping slaves in the ports to which they traded. The Taphians of the islands called now Kalemioi and Kastoi, are termed pirates; these were, however, not Phœnicians, but Pelasgians.

The first attack made on Egypt was in the fifth year of the reign of Rames-su III., B.C. 1307, by the Lydeans, whom he repulsed, and in his eighth year (B.C. 1303), a white race of Libyans and Takkaros or Teucrioi, who inhabited the islands and northern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, but whose exact habitat does not appear, possessed a considerable navy on the western coast of Egypt. This invasion was repulsed with loss; but nothing is known of its details, albeit alluded to in the bas-relief of Medinet Abu. The Pelasgic nations of the Mediterranean Sea, nothing daunted by their frequent repulses, chose Syria as the basis of another attack, relying on the aid of the Khita, or Hittites, on the one side, and of the white Libyans on the other; the former were to make the assault by land and the Pelasgians by sea, aided by those of Crete. The Khita arrived in the form of an immigration. Rames-su III., advised of this inroad and of the disembarkation of the first division arriving by sea, first attacked the Khita, or Hittites, in the valley of the Orontes,—and this time were without allies,—somewhere in advance of Kadesh, defeated and thrust them back on their own country, and records the victory in the great bas-relief of Medinet Aboo by saying, "I have wiped out this people and their country as though they never had existed," and then hastens along the shore till he falls on the first disembarkation of the northern section. This was composed of Pelasgians or Philistines, followed by their families in wagons drawn by oxen, and supported by the Maschuash or Maxyas, Africans, in great numbers; of whom he massacred 12,500, the rest surrendering at discrĕtion. But immediately a fresh army arrived by sea, ready to disembark, among which were Danians of

the Peloponnesus; these also fell before the arms of Rames-su and his Phœnician fleet.

The gigantic bas-relief gives a representation of this battle, this mouth of the Nile being closed by the foundering of a pelasgian vessel, the fleet was hemmed in between the shore and the enemies' vessels, and its retreat impeded and the fleet destroyed. Rames-su, as he could not slaughter the whole nation, he had taken prisoner, transferred the Palesta to the shore of Kenâan (Canaan) between Gapho (Jaffa) and the Egyptian desert near Gazza, grouping them round the fortresses of Azab, Ashdod, and Askalon, where it was probably thought they would be held in check by the Egyptian garrisons of those places; but gradually strengthened by fresh emigrants from Crete, the Peleshtini, otherwise Kretini or Cretans, founded a dynasty which in after times so sorely harassed the Israelites and Phœnicians, identified with the Kepa or Kept * in the Greek version of the inscription of Canopus. Rames-su then turned his arms against other nations, of which the inscription gives a long list, but he does not pursue the Tikkri or Teucreans to the Troad.

This overthrow of the Palesta host is most important in fixing the date of the Trojan siege, which becomes indubitable by the astronomical fact ascertained by the French astronomer Biot. The Egyptian solar year consisted of 365 days, and only coincided with the rising of the star Sothis or Sirius, and the sidereal year, the great Egyptian festival, once in a long series of ages.

In the twelfth year of Rames-su III. this concidence took place, answering to the year 1,300 B.C. of our notation; and as the defeat of the Palesta occurred in the eighth year of his reign, viz., 1311 B.C., it answers to 1303 B.C. The bearing which this has on the Trojan War will appear as follows:—

On reference to the 172nd line of the xixth Odyssey, Penelope inquires of Ulysses, then feigning to be a beggar and

* Supposed to be the ancestors of the Kopts.

houseless wanderer, his history, the opening of which has been liberally plagiarized by Virgil in his Æneid, Book II.—" Infandum regina jubes renovare dolorem." Ulysses, to mislead her, and better to conceal his identity, invents a tale, calculated to divert her mind from Troy, and which is rendered freely as follows: —

" There is in the midst of the dark sea an island rich and beautiful, surrounded by water, called Crete. It is very populous, and its languages are mixed, for there are Achaians, Eteocretans,* (aboriginal Cretans), Xydonians, a tribe of Dorians, and Pelasgians. Minos, who converses every nine years with my grandfather, the almighty Zeus, reigns over them in the great city of Knossos. My father Deucalion begat me and the king Idomeneus, who went to Ilium in the fleet with the sons of Atreus, my name is Æthon, the youngest of the family, but Idomeneus was the eldest and most valiant. It was there I saw Ulysses and enriched him with the gifts of hospitality, for the wind had driven him to Crete out of his way to Troy, wandering from the Maleans to Amnisos, a perilous harbour, the site of the cavern of Ilythia, where he narrowly escaped the tempest and forthwith sought Idomeneus in the city, his dear and respected guest, who had left about eleven days with his fleet for Troy. I took him to my house and hospitably entreated him, having abundance, supplying him and his men with corn from the public magazines, with wine and neat cattle for sacrifice." They remained with him twelve days, delayed by the north wind; but on the thirteenth, the wind falling, they weighed anchor.

Here is shown the connexion with Crete and the mixed nature of its population, consisting nevertheless almost exclusively of Pelasgic tribes, and fixes the period at which Idomeneus set out with his fleet from Crete; nor could Ulysses, without the risk of certain discovery, have ventured to fabricate a tale which had no foundation in fact, he more-

* Eteocretoi probably means original Cretans, not Pelasta-Cretans proper, possibly the remnant of the Greek race, the earlier inhabitants.

over confessed himself a Pelasgian, which was doubtless true, though not a Cretan Pelasgian.

In the 14th Odyssey, l. 255, he tells substantially the same tale to Eumæus, the swineherd, except the admission that he went to Troy with Idomeneus and engaged subsequently in an ill-fated attack on Egypt.

In the 17th Odyssey, l. 415, he tells a tale reconcilable with the above story to Antinous, for after begging he says, "For I also was prosperous, inhabiting a fine house, conferring on wanderers of all sorts and conditions, whatever they needed. I had a host of slaves and all those things which cause a man to be reputed rich; but Zeus, the son of Chronos, destroyed me, sending me on a long voyage to Egypt with wandering robbers, to my damage. I stationed the ships on the river Ægyptus.* I exhorted my men to draw up or intrench the ships, and remain in their vicinity, placing sentinels; but they, yielding to insolence and impulse, laid waste the fields of the Egyptians and slew them, seizing their wives and their children. An alarm reaching the city a clamour was heard, the Egyptians came at daybreak, filling the plain with infantry and cavalry. But Zeus sent a panic among my men, who did not oppose them, and ill-fate surrounded them on every side; they slew many of us and took others alive as slaves; me they handed over to a stranger, Dmetor (Od. xvii. 40), son of Iassos, to take to Cyprus, over which he ruled, thence I now come hither, having suffered damage."

At this time Cyprus had not become a province of Egypt, but was inhabited by the Kittim, and in the power of the Phœnicians. Ulysses thereupon represented himself as being taken as a slave to Cyprus by one of the Phœnicians, this Dmetor, a naval ally of Rames-su, returned after aiding the Egyptian king in destroying the Pelasgic fleet, and Ulysses was a share of his booty. The obvious

* The Nile was originally so called, and gave the name to the country it watered. Kopt is by some supposed to be identical with E-gypt, land of the Kopts.

inference here is, that it was then notorious that the naval power of the Egyptians consisted in its Phœnician allies, as is now known from other sources to be the fact. Therefore the whole of his tale, while purely as fictitious as to his own person, had to his hearers, aware of these facts, the perfect semblance of truth, and will lead to the following conclusion :—The defeat of the Palesta under Rames-su III., B.C. 1300. The wanderings of Ulysses occupied ten years after the ten years' siege of Troy, making a total of twenty years ; it is presumable that the battle of 1300 B.C. was not much anterior to Ulysses' arrival in Ithaca, for it was fresh in the memory of the inhabitants of the Levant, so that the commencement of the siege may be fairly put back to 1388-9—a date far antecedent to that hitherto supposed, but now proved to be erroneous by the discovery of the bas-relief of Karnach.

Taken generally, this account is the counterpart of the Medinet Aboo inscription, hence the deduction, that had the events described by Ulysses as happening in Egypt, and the Trojan siege not been synchronous, it would not have occurred to him to divert attention from his own individuality by representing himself as being in Crete, Egypt, and Cyprus when the siege took place. That he did not invent the incidents is equally patent, since the successive and crushing defeats of the Pelasgi must have been generally notorious facts, especially among those of the same race. If the siege lasted ten years, and Ulysses was ten in wandering home, the two events are brought into very close proximity ; Ulysses was as well aware of the value of an alibi as any criminal in a court of justice. Lenormand, "Manuel d'Histoire ancienne," clearly proves from Egyptian monumental history, the inhabitants of Crete in the fourteenth century B.C., to have been,—except the Eteocretans, or Cretans proper, the former inhabitants of Crete,—Pelasgians, like the inimical populations of Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy, where they obtained the designations of Tyrhennians, Touska (now Tosks in north

Albania), the Tuscans of the Latins, as also the Peloponese and countries north of it under the name of Palesta, by which Crete was also known. The inhabitants of Asia Minor were also of this descent, and on settling in Palestine (Kanân-an) under Rames-su III., conferred this name on the country and ultimately superseded the Phœnicians, who were of Shemitic race, as thalassocrats. The tribe of the Danaoi (Δάναοι) were also Pelasgians, as has been shown above, whence the Peloponese obtained the designation of Pelasgia, the Greek form of Palesta. Rames-su makes no reference to the Greek race (those who spoke that language), but speaks of Pelasgians by the designation "Greeks," though they were clearly not of the Greek race nor blood as now understood, *γράιοι* being a Pelasgic tribe. Before pursuing the Pelasgic race with a view of showing that it never quitted, even to the present day, its seats in continental Greece and in other countries in which it settled, it will be convenient to hazard some conjectures. As to the Greek-speaking race, heretofore strangely confounded with the Pelasgic; with which it had certainly nothing in common beyond its Aryan descent and probably local origin, no guide remains, but that most unreliable one of language, held to be treacherous by all the best philologists.

Now, if this language be examined, it will at once be patent that it is of very high antiquity; and if its known progress be submitted to the usual analogous tests, the conclusion is inevitable that it is no exception to any other in the changes it has undergone. The Greek of Xenophon differs as much from that of the Homeric rhapsodies, even as we have them, almost as modern English from Anglo-Saxon; nor do the writers of the best period, viz., from 500 to 300 B.C., bear any resemblance to them, either in vocabulary or inflexion; and it must be doubted if a well-educated Athenian of the fourth century, B.C., who had never seen the Rhapsodies, could have understood them without a glossary; they may even be considered as bear-

ing the same analogy to the Attic as French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, or Roumanian do to their parent the Latin. It must also be considered, that we possess by no means the most archaic version of them; for if the language had undergone so material a modification in the 300 years supposed to have elapsed since their composition and first promulgation,—assuming that date to be 1185 B.C., as stated in the Arundelian Marble,—and the vernacular of 500 B.C., it follows as a consequence, that the gradual modification must have been at least as great between that period and the epoch to which they are referred by the vulgar era. Had they been handed down in writing this would probably not have been the case, since after 500 years we still possess the original text of Chaucer; on the contrary, it is admitted, that they were transmitted by reciters.

Kadmus, a Phœnician, whom Taylor and Lenormand identify with Kedmish, "the Eastern man," had generally reported to have introduced alphabetical writing into Greece ("qui primus induxit literas in Græciam"), and Isaac Taylor in his "Alphabet" has proved the Phœnician to be the foundation of the Greek and Latin alphabet.

Lenormand has proved him to have been a Phœnician, who endeavoured to make a settlement in Bœotia, but who was expelled after a time by the Pelasgi, which he holds to explain the fable of the dragon's teeth—viz., the severe combat the Phœnician settlement had with the Pelasgi, tantamount to reciprocal extermination. The date ordinarily ascribed to Cadmus is 1500 B.C.; but long anterior to this epoch the Pelasgi had obtained a firm footing in these countries; but of the race which introduced the Greek language there is no trace, much less of an invasion in force, which would not have been wanting. The conclusion in these premises is, therefore, that the Greek-speaking race was enslaved and obliterated by the warlike Pelasgians.

THE BARBARY CORSAIRS.

PART III.

In the eighteenth century the Barbary Corsairs had degenerated into mere pirates, though they still made a transparent pretence of carrying on regular war. Up to the time of their virtual independence of the Ottoman Empire they had fought with the fleets of the Sultan's enemies, and aided to besiege their forts; but now they carefully shunned an encounter with a man-of-war, and visited only the unprotected spots on the Christian coasts.

The Dutch ship in which Lady Fanshawe was a passenger, when she was escaping from the troubles of the Civil War in England, only avoided attack from a Turkish rover by assuming the appearance of a man-of-war. All women were ordered below, "for if the Turks saw women, they would take us for a merchant, and board us." After their defeats by the French and English fleets, the Corsairs abandoned the practice of cruising in squadrons: still two or three ships generally sailed in company, to be able the better to defend themselves against a hostile man-of-war, or overpower a large merchantman. Some of their cruisers belonged to the State, and the rest were privateers, owned by their captains or by others, and sailing under the Regency flag. The captain had generally part of a share in the vessel; even when he owned it, he could seldom afford the capital to fit it out for a cruise, and had recourse to "armadores," who, in the pirate cities, filled the place of merchants in more civilized communities. These armadores made a speculation of fitting out the cruisers, supplying guns, stores, and ammunition, and shipping the crew.

The vessel was mostly worked by Christian slaves. She was crowded with fighting men, of whom from one-

fourth to one-fifth would be Turks, the rest Moors and Arabs. They carried as many men as possible, because their favourite method of attack was boarding in overwhelming numbers; they had also to furnish prize crews for the vessels taken. A Buluk-báshi was appointed to the chief command of the soldiers on board, with the brevet rank of Agha, and an Oda-báshi to command under him. The men received no pay—only rations from the ship, and these so scanty that they always supplemented them by bringing their own provisions on board. If no prizes were made, they got nothing.

When a Corsair returned to port after a successful cruise, she fired gun after gun in rapid succession, to announce her good fortune; then the Limán Reis, or Captain of the Port, went on board of her to receive her report, and to carry it to the Dái, or Pasha. The Christian captives, when first taken, were subjected to a rigorous examination by the captors, to make them discover their rank and nation. When they were landed they were taken to the Dái's palace, where all the European Consuls attended, to identify and claim the prisoners of their own nation. Those who might be only passengers, belonging to a nation under treaty with the Regency, were then handed over to their Consul. Of the rest, the Dái selected at his discretion one in every eight as the share of the Government. The rest were taken to the public market, and put up to auction like cattle, trotted out, their teeth and limbs examined, etc. After the sale was transacted, they were taken back to the Dái's palace, and put up to auction again, and finally sold; any advance on the original amount bid being taken by the Government. Only the price realized by the first sale was divided among the captors. The slaves were then taken away by their purchasers, unless ransomed by the Consuls or by the Trinitarians and other Redeeming Orders.

There were strict rules as to the appropriation and division of prize taken by the Corsairs. Every one was

obliged to put all booty captured into the common stock; and any pirate who concealed money, jewels, or any article for his own private appropriation, was, if detected, punished most unmercifully with the bastinado. A scribe was employed on every ship to keep a particular account of all the spoil, and a register of the captives taken. In Algiers twelve per cent. of the whole, and in Tunis and Tripoli ten per cent., was the share of the Regency; one per cent. was paid for harbour dues, and one per cent. for the religious foundations. Of the remainder, half went to the owners and armadores, apportioned among them according to their shares in fitting out the cruiser; the other half was divided amongst the crew. The captain (Reis) had ten shares, in addition to his share as owner, if he was one; the Buluk-bashi, Oda-bashi, master gunner, sailing-master, etc., had three shares each; the soldiers, two shares; ordinary seamen, one share; Christian slaves shared according to their employment like the others.

When a prize was brought in, Algiers was *en fête*: the wine-taverns, kept by Jews or Christian slaves, were thronged by Turks, drinking away their prize-money, and boasting of their exploits.

When prizes were taken by a squadron, the Admiral or Commodore's share was one-fifteenth of the whole amount, after the dues of the Regency had been deducted.

The Turks' ships were swift sailers—all built for speed, and not for strength. Many of them were prizes, which, when found to be swift and otherwise suitable, they converted into cruisers. They were conspicuous for the neatness and good order on board: in their galleys even the anchor was stowed amidships, that it might not interfere with the trim of the vessel. Nothing was allowed to swing or hang loose; all the arms were securely lashed, and "everything stowed away with marvellous neatness and economy of space and speed."

"The Turks of Barbary," says Morgan, in his "History of Algiers," "in the care of their arms and most things

of that nature, are scarce to be out-done in nicety and cleanliness."

In the arts of peace, however, they were decidedly deficient. Hardly any of them could read or write even their own language; nor would they ever condescend to speak any tongue but Turkish, though Arabic was the common language of the country.

The medium of communication between the slaves of different nations, and between them and their masters, was the *Lingua Franca*, a jargon which sprang from the conditions of Christian slavery in Barbary, and was made up of a mixture of the Latin languages with Arabic and Turkish: "*Un barragouin facile et plaisant*," Père Dan calls it. The Corsairs, he says, when they take Christian captives, try to cajole them into disclosing their property, saying to them, "*No pillar fantasia, Dios Grande, mundo cosi, cosi, si venira ventura ira a casa tuà*"; and to the same jargon probably belong the words which Auliya Effendi puts into the mouth of "the red-capped tars of Algiers." "They cry," he says, "'*Aya Mola, Tira Mola, Forza Poggia, Dana Fuga*,' and various other words of sailor cant, which they utter to the honour of God."

When James Bruce was British Consul in Algiers, Minorca was taken by the French and Spaniards, after the unfortunate Admiral Byng had failed to relieve it. In Port Mahon a store of the passes were found which the English ships used to carry to satisfy the Corsairs of their nationality. These the French and Spaniards proceeded to issue to their own ships. An Algerine cruiser, boarding a vessel sailing under British colours, found her pass quite correct, but observed that her crew wore moustaches, and that none of them could speak English. He therefore brought her into Algiers, where she proved to be a Spaniard. The Algerines made this a pretext for capturing and detaining all ships that carried passes, on which the Governor of Gibraltar issued passes under his own signature to English ships navigating the

Mediterranean, which very much puzzled the ignorant Algerines, and they resented it so strongly that it nearly caused another war with England. It appears that they only recognised the original passes by some water-mark or similar peculiarity in the paper, and that to be expected to decipher a pass was more than they could tolerate, even from their dear friends the English. Bruce called on the Dái to accommodate the misunderstanding, when the Turk, "with great emotion," addressed him in the following speech:—

"The British Government know that we can neither read nor write, no, not even our own language. We are ignorant soldiers and sailors—robbers if you will, though we do not wish to rob you; but war is our trade, and we live by that only. Tell me how my cruisers are to know that all these different writings and seals are Governor Mostyn's or Governor Johnston's, and not the Duke of Medina Sidonia's, or Barcelot's, the Captain of the King of Spain's cruisers?"

"It was impossible," says Bruce, "to answer a question so simple and direct"; though we should imagine he might have answered it by suggesting that the Turks should bestow some little more attention to the rudiments of education for the future. But Bruce was one of the many who seemed to adopt the Turks' own view of the justice of their claims and the legality of their operations.

The skulking pirate of the eighteenth century was still, in his own estimation, a warrior, or "Ghazi"; and his cruise or raid was a "Ghaziya," an expedition undertaken for the glory and propagation of the faith of Islam, a word corrupted in the *Lingua Franca* into "razzia." But a great change had meantime taken place in the thought and sentiment of civilized Europe. Its nations no longer held prisoners of war to ransom, or believed that difference of faith justified the perpetration of any atrocity. Père Dan, in 1630, when discoursing on the etymology and signification of the word "Çorsair," observes that it would be

unfair to call the Cossacks of the Black Sea "Corsairs," *because they make raids only on the enemies of the Christian religion;* and when he and his companions had ransomed three good Catholics from the Algerines for 3,000 pieces, and the Dái, perhaps in joke, threw a Protestant slave into the bargain, they refused to accept him because he was a Lutheran.

The Turks of Barbary had fallen hopelessly behind their time; and it is surprising that they contrived, as they actually did, to carry the politics and the mode of warfare in fashion in the world in the fifteenth century well on into the nineteenth.

The record of our diplomatic dealings with the Regency of Algiers, as given in detail in Sir Lambert Playfair's valuable work, "The Scourge of Christendom," is a pitiable, and at times a ludicrous story. The Dái was ordinarily, according to Rycant, who was himself British Consul at Algiers, "a person of a most sordid and mercenary soul, immersed in covetousness and gluttony, guided only by his lust and interest, unless sometimes restrained by the authority of the Divan, and the fear of popular insurrection." We fear that an examination of the endless negotiations which the English carried on with Algiers during the eighteenth century will lead to the conclusion that the Dái was not the only party to the negotiations who was "guided by interest." But the continual outrages and subterfuges of the pirates tried the patience of their English friends to the utmost; and in spite of the benefit which they derived from the state of terror and insecurity in which weaker nations were kept by the Corsairs, they found it very difficult to stomach the insolence of the Algerines.

On one occasion the Turks actually took a British sloop of war which was convoying some Spanish merchantmen. Another time they captured an English packet-boat, bound from Lisbon to Falmouth, with a large sum in specie on board, on the pretence that she had no pass,

though Government vessels never carried passes. The ship and crew were restored, but the Dái kept the money, £25,000, bringing forward pretended counter-claims and procrastinating until the matter became so old that it dropped out of remembrance.

Such occurrences were continually taking place Nor were the alleged wrongs all on the English side; the Algerines' cruisers frequently complained of their treatment by British men-of-war and privateers, who fired shotted guns at them to make them bring-to, and took Christian slaves out of them; and by the English soldiers in garrison at Gibraltar and Minorca, who stoned the Turks when their boats put in there for water and provisions; and, between the two, the Consul had a lively time of it, and was continually threatened with imprisonment, or worse, when the mutual complaints became more frequent and more acrimonious than usual. The Dáis, Beys, and Pashas faithfully copied their Suzerain in his supercilious treatment of Christian envoys; and it must be remembered that up to the very end of the last century the ambassador of a European Power at the Porte was committed to prison on a breach of diplomatic relations, as if he were the servant of a rebellious vassal. The Consuls at the various Regencies were obliged to kiss hands on obtaining the favour of an audience from the pirate chief. In 1840 the newly-appointed French Consul refused to kiss the hand of the Bey of Tunis; but Ali Bey threatened him with death, and he complied under compulsion. This brought on a war which lasted three years; but in 1742 the French made peace on the old terms, consenting to the ignominious ceremony being observed for the future. In 1762 an English frigate arrived at Tunis with a special envoy to announce the accession of George the Third, bearing letters to "the most excellent Lords the Bashaw, Divan, Bey, and the rest of the soldiers of the kingdom of Tunis, our well-beloved friends, greeting." Mr. Cleveland refused either

to kiss the Bey's hand or to take off his shoes on entering the presence. The matter was compromised after much wrangling by some of his *suite* kissing the hand of the Bey, while the shoe question was solved by the reception being held in a kiosque in the gardens of the palace. The ceremony of kissing the Bey's hand was not finally abolished in Tunis until 1836.

The Dái of Algiers demanding from the British Consul the payment of certain private debts due by Englishmen to his subjects, the Consul writes to the English Ministry: "It is unprecedented for the public to pay such debts; but, considering the peculiar character of these people, and the nature of our keeping up harmony with them by presents, the violent maxims they proceed upon, the entire dissonance of their laws, customs, manners, and notions from those of other Courts, it may perhaps appear in a different light to His Majesty's Ministers, and, though not reasonable, may be found convenient."

This letter furnishes a clue to much that appears mysterious in our diplomatic correspondence with the Barbary Regencies.

The Algerines had on several occasions besieged Oran in vain; and their troops were actually before its walls when Marshal d'Estrées bombarded Algiers in 1688. In the year 1708 the Dái Uzun Hasan took Oran and Mazarquivir, and sent the keys to the Sultan, who was then at peace with Spain. The church bells of Oran were cast into cannon by the Turks. The Spaniards were very much annoyed at thus losing by their own negligence the conquests of Ferdinand the Catholic, which they had so long retained in the teeth of all the efforts of the Mussulmans to dislodge them; and, in 1732, they despatched a fleet of men-of-war and transports, carrying thirty-two battalions of infantry, twelve squadrons of horse, and twelve squadrons of dragoons, in all twenty-six thousand men, to disembark at Oran. The Algerines were taken by surprise, and the two towns were re-taken

with as much ease as they had been lost. Oran was afterwards abandoned by the Spaniards on account of the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of keeping up communications with its garrison in war-time, owing to the English fleet.

In 1747 a detachment of the Hibernian regiment was returning to Spain from Majorca, where it had been in garrison. This regiment had been in the service of Prince Charles Edward in the rebellion of '45, and was afterwards taken into that of Spain. The transport carrying it was attacked by three Algerine cruisers. The first one coming up, laid the transport aboard, when the Irishmen themselves, boarding the Corsair, drove the Turks overboard into the sea, one Turk crying out, "These are no Spaniards! If they are not Englishmen, they are devils!" The Algerine's consorts coming up, however, fired on the Irishmen, till they forced them to surrender, and they were all carried captives to Algiers. Some of the officers' wives and children were among them, all of whom were made slaves.

In 1784 the Mediterranean nations made a final effort to rid themselves of their pitiless tormentors. "The horrors of the negro slave trade," says Mr. Shaler, the United States Consul at Algiers, in a despatch to his own Government, "are tender mercies compared to the sufferings which are inflicted on the inhabitants of Spain and Italy by these detestable barbarians."

The Spaniards, Portuguese, Tuscans, and Neapolitans formed an alliance for the extirpation of these nests of pirates, and prepared a huge armament for the accomplishment of the task. The gallant Knights of Malta, for the last time, once more "unfurled against the infidels of Algiers the blessed banner of redemption." The combined fleets lay before Algiers for three weeks, during which time they repeatedly sent in their gun-boats and bomb-ketches to batter and bombard the town; but the Algerines, sallying out in their galleys and small craft,

fought them boldly, and would not let them come in close enough to do any mischief; and after many fruitless attacks, the great Armada sailed away, pursued and harassed by the light vessels of the Corsairs. After this *fiasco*, the Spaniards yielded to fate, and agreed to pay the tribute demanded by the pirates. A few years afterwards we find the Bey throwing all the Spaniards in Tunis into prison because the presents sent him from Spain were less than he had expected, and the Spanish Government hastening to appease him by sending him two fine xebecques of twenty-six guns each. The tribute paid by the different European Governments was often exacted by the Regencies in the form of ships, guns, and war material, so that the Christian Powers themselves supplied the weapons which were used to coerce them.

In 1799 the United States of America paid to the Bey of Tunis, as the price of a treaty of peace, the sum of fifty thousand dollars in hard cash, twenty-eight guns of various calibres, ten thousand cannon-shot, three hundred quintals of gunpowder, and four hundred quintals of cordage. Soon after the Dutch sent a fleet to Tunis, not to bombard the city or threaten the Bey, but to settle the annual amount of tribute, and, if possible, to compound for it by giving the Bey a lump sum of money.

Austria, Venice, Denmark, and Holland all paid tribute to Tunis. The Venetians generally resisted the claims of the Corsairs, and when they took them prisoner they gave no quarter, but killed them without mercy, so that the rovers were generally shy of entering the Adriatic. However, after waging war against Tunis for eight years, the Signory of Venice gave way in 1792, and purchased a peace from Hamuda Bey for forty thousand sequins. Mr. Eaton, the American Consul at Algiers, writing of the Dái to his own Government in 1798, says: "Can any one believe that this elevated brute has seven kings, two Republics, and a continent tributary to him, when his whole force does not amount to two line-of-battle-ships."

Yet, in spite of the tributes paid to them and the profits of their piracies, the power of the Barbary States was steadily on the decline all through the eighteenth century, partly from the unstable and unsettled nature of their Governments, partly from the mysterious decay—like some kind of political dry-rot which seems fated to overtake the political institutions of all Muhammadan nations in these times. Their land and sea forces were dwindling; at the beginning of the present century Algiers barely possessed a dozen ships, Tunis half a dozen, and Tripoli still fewer. Their territory, which had once been the granary of the world, was almost a waste, the desolate fields testifying to the truth of the Arab proverb, "The grass never grows in the footsteps of a Turk." And yet the decline and decay of the wealth and population of Barbary cannot be set down altogether to the door of its Turkish rulers; for we find the same retrogression in the neighbouring empire of Morocco (Maghrab al' Aksa), which has never owned a Turkish ruler.

The Corsairs of Morocco were mostly refugee Andalusian Moors, who confined their operations to "picarooning" on the opposite coast of Spain; but at Sallee, on the Atlantic, there was a republic of Corsairs very much on the model of those on the Barbary coast. Its rulers were Andalusian Moors; but there were also Turks at Sallee who had settled there for the purpose of piracy, and who cruised against the coasts and shipping of Spain and Portugal under the flag of Morocco, remitting to the Emperor a certain proportion of their prizes and captives. The friend of our boyhood, Robinson Crusoe, was taken by "a Turkish rover of Sallee," who spied his ship in the grey of the morning, between the Canary Islands and the African coast, "and immediately gave chase to us with all the sail that he could make." In Père Dan's time the Sallee rovers had, as we have seen, thirty swift sailing ships with which they infested the Atlantic; but their ships were small, and they were seldom to be found far from their own cruising grounds.

Several expeditions were sent against Sallee by the European Powers; and as late as 1852 a French squadron bombarded Rabat and Sallee.

The interior history of the Corsair Regencies is a monotonous record of cabals, conspiracies, mutinies, and murders: in Algiers not one Dái in ten died a natural death. Although the dignity was nominally elective, it was really the prize of the greatest ruffian in the ruffianly crew of Turkish Janissaries, and was usually gained by a combination of force and fraud. The aspirant commenced by forming a party among the soldiery, and securing a Jew broker to finance his undertaking. He then watched his opportunity to assassinate the reigning Dái, while his companions raised a tumult, in the confusion of which they might seize the reins of government. Tunis, though it had an hereditary dynasty, was plagued by civil wars between rival claimants of the reigning family, in which the Turkish soldiery were almost entirely destroyed, their places being taken by native Moors. The Regencies waged desperate wars against each other, begun without a cause, and ending without a result. The Sultan used to try to compose these fruitless quarrels by his mediation, with but indifferent success.

The United States of America were the first to break through the ignominious system of purchasing the forbearance of the Corsairs. They had been obliged to acquiesce in it because they had no navy to protect their commerce; and we have seen the handsome price they paid to Tunis for a so-called Treaty of Peace. The Pasha of Tripoli immediately demanded an advance on the Tunisian price, in a *naïve* begging letter, asking, among other things, for a number of "twenty-four pounders of various calibres"; and when his demands were not complied with in the stipulated time, he chopped down the flagstaff of the American consulate in Tripoli. The shrewd Yankees, meanwhile, had come to the conclusion that it was better to spend their money in building and equipping warships themselves, than

in furnishing them to greedy pirates. So they replied to the Tripolitan demands by despatching a squadron of frigates to the Mediterranean. They were at first unfortunate; one of their frigates, the *Philadelphia*, while chasing a Corsair into Tripoli harbour, ran aground, and was taken by the Tripolitans. These proceeded to convert her to their own purposes; but Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, with a party of men, went in and fired her, and she burnt to the water's edge. This gallant exploit, which after all was no more than was performed a hundred times by English boats' crews during the French war, is made the subject of a special chapter in Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's book, and is, we presume, the contribution of Lieutenant Kelly, of the United States Navy, whose name appears upon the title-page.

After two years' blockade, and several attacks and bombardments of the city of Tripoli, the Pasha made peace, resigning his claims to tribute from the United States, and liberating all American captives; but receiving, we are sorry to say, a present of sixty thousand dollars in cash for his complacence.

After the conclusion of the war with England in 1815, the United States sent a squadron of frigates again into the Mediterranean, to free themselves from the obligation of tribute to Tunis and Algiers; and by the simple show of their force they frightened the Corsairs into agreeing to all their demands.

This was an encouragement to the nations of Europe to free themselves for ever from the ignominious blackmail which had been so long imposed upon them, and to efface the last remaining vestiges of the Mohammedan aggression which had been at one time such a real and pressing danger to Christendom; "the Historie of the Turkes being, indeed," as Knolles has it, "nothing else but the true Record of the woful Ruines of the greater part of the Christian Commonweal."

By the possession of the strong island-fortress of Malta,

the English had inherited the self-imposed task of the dispossessed Knights of St. John, the defence of the coasts of Christendom against the attacks of the infidels; though of late years these champions of the Cross had done little to maintain their ancient fame, and the summer cruises of their galleys had become mere parties of pleasure. The Corsairs, who themselves no longer cared for fighting the enemies of their faith, preferring to make a safer livelihood by robbing them, carefully kept out of their way; and the Knights in their galleys did not trouble themselves to go in search of the Barbary brigs and polaccas. To them, however, had now succeeded a naval power which was well able to keep the peace and to act as the police of the Mediterranean. The policy of England still favoured the Corsairs, and in the year 1812 we find our Government mediating for a peace between our *protégée*, Portugal, and the Dái and Divan of Algiers; whereby the former agreed to pay a large sum down for the ransom of all the Portuguese slaves, and an annual tribute for the future. But the public opinion of the civilized world,—now shocked even by the forced servitude which the Corsairs themselves underwent when made prisoners by the Spaniards and Italians,—was not likely to endure longer the spectacle of the miseries which they inflicted on the unhappy Christians who were so unfortunate as to fall under their horrible dominion.

At the close of the great Napoleonic wars England had become indubitably mistress of the seas; and the toleration or suppression of Turkish privateering or piracy rested in her hands. Just then two events happened which particularly attracted public attention to the practices of the Corsairs. An Algerine squadron appeared off the coast of Italy, and by hoisting British colours disarmed the suspicions of the people and captured some hundreds of them. On learning that the American frigates were off Algiers, the Corsairs landed their captives at Bona, and marched them by road to the capital, where they arrived almost naked, and perishing of hunger and fatigue. As they were

being inspected by the Dái, some of the miserable victims fell down and expired in his presence.

Tunisian pirates about the same time ravaged the coast of Sardinia, committing frightful atrocities. The result was the despatch of an English fleet, under Lord Exmouth, to the Mediterranean, to persuade the Barbary Regencies to admit all their Christian slaves to ransom, and to renounce the practice of making slaves of prisoners of war for the future. The Pasha of Tripoli and the Bey Tunis agreed to all that was required of them, and gave up the Christian slaves in their dominions for an adequate ransom. But the Algerines were very indignant at the demands made upon them. Afraid to refuse, but unwilling to comply, they pretended that it was necessary to submit the matter to their Suzerain, the Sultan, and despatched an embassy to Constantinople, bearing an offering of twenty Christian slaves for the honour of the Imperial acceptance.

No sooner had Lord Exmouth's fleet withdrawn from its station before Algiers than the spite and fury of the Turks burst forth. The English Consul, Mr. McDonell, was thrown into prison, and the Italian coral fishers at Bona, who were peaceably carrying on their trade under the protection of the English flag, were attacked by a body of Turkish soldiery, many of them inhumanly massacred, and the rest made prisoners. The Dái was now frightened at what had been done, and ordered the liberation of the captives; but matters had already gone too far. Lord Exmouth returned, joined by a Dutch squadron, and carrying his fleet close into the mole and harbour, the Turks opened fire upon him, and in the well-fought action that followed, the whole of the pirate fleet and the fortifications of Algiers were totally destroyed, not without serious loss to the British. The Turks were now thoroughly cowed; the Dái made a public apology to the British Consul, and released all the Christian slaves without ransom. The total number of these unfortunates rescued by Lord Exmouth's expedition was over three thousand, of whom

more than sixteen hundred were released from slavery in Algiers.

England, after so long reaping advantage from the terror caused by the Corsairs, thus at the last secured the credit of putting a stop to the tyranny which they had exercised over the sea-faring population of Christian nations for the past three hundred years.

"The reason you sent the expedition to Algiers," said Napoleon to Barry O'Meara, at St. Helena, when he heard of Lord Exmouth's victory, "was to ingratiate yourselves with the Italians, and prevent their regretting me."

This was hardly just; but Napoleon's remarks on the general policy of England towards the Corsairs were more to the point.

"It was not," he said, "the policy of the English Ministers to destroy these barbarians, or else they would have done it long ago. By permitting them to exist and to plunder you monopolized the greater part of the trade of the Mediterranean, because the Swedes, Danes, Portuguese, and others were afraid to send their ships there."

Omar Dái, who suffered this humiliation at the hands of Christians, as usual, expiated his misfortune with his life, being soon after murdered by the soldiery. His successor Khojah Ali presented the solitary and curious spectacle of a literary Dái, and was generally to be found with a book in his hand when visited by the Consuls. He was, however, a tyrant and a libertine, and his harem was filled with kidnapped European girls. He contemplated establishing an hereditary dynasty in his own family, but was cut off by the plague before he could attempt the execution of his design. He was succeeded by Husain, the last of the Dáis, who attempted to restore the system of piracy, and instead only succeeded in extinguishing for ever the rule of the Turks in Algiers.

The Corsairs were loth to abandon their ancient prerogatives, and they made several surreptitious attempts to revive them. In 1817, only a year after Lord Exmouth's

expedition, a Tunisian cruiser took a Bremen ship in the English Channel. In 1824, the English fleet, when blockading Algiers, captured an Algerine brig which had fourteen Spanish captives on board, whom the Turks had just fetched out of their beds in Spain.

In 1818, the united great Powers of Europe addressed the Dái, demanding his adhesion to an agreement for the suppression of piracy; but though the request was backed by the despatch of a combined fleet to Algiers, the Dái refused compliance, and was left unmolested, no one undertaking to bell the cat. The Barbary frigates proceeded to the Levant to aid the Sultan against his revolted Greek subjects, and there engaged in promiscuous piracy.

In 1824, an English fleet under Sir Harry Neale again bombarded Algiers, to exact reparation for outrages committed by the Dái; but little damage was done on either side, and little satisfaction obtained.

In 1827, it was the turn of the French to come in for the Dái's attentions; and as at an audience the French Consul used plain language instead of the diplomatic refinements of speech which the Corsairs were accustomed to hear from the representatives of European Powers, the enraged Turk struck him in the face with his fan. The French took even this insult meekly, and merely demanded an apology from the Dái. He refused, and the French declared war, and blockaded Algiers for two years without producing any effect on the Turks. The Dái now further distinguished himself by firing on a French envoy with a flag of truce, and the patience of the French was at last fairly exhausted. In the summer of 1830 they despatched an army of forty thousand men to the coast of Algeria, which effected a landing in the bay of Sidi Ferruj on the 13th of June. The Turks hastily assembled all their forces, and being joined by swarms of Arabs and Kabyles, attacked the intruders on the 19th and were defeated with heavy loss. Several other attacks were repulsed, and the French broke ground before Algiers. On the morning of

the 4th of July they opened their batteries, and in the course of the day captured one of the forts in the *enceinte* of the city, the Turks evacuating it and blowing up the magazine. They now thoroughly lost heart, and the Dái became as abject as he had before been arrogant. The same evening he surrendered at discretion, only stipulating for his own life and liberty. The next day the French made a triumphal entry into Algiers.

Such was the ignominious end of this ignoble Government which had for three centuries been the nightmare of Europe, and which had under the Barbarossas and the renegade Pashas gained a reputation for conduct and prowess which it had long survived. The French made an end once for all of the Turkish Corsairs of Algiers by shipping them off to Asia Minor "bag and baggage," in anticipation of the policy advocated by Mr. Gladstone. All the unmarried Turks were at once put on board the French transports, and carried to the coast of Asia Minor, where each man was given five dollars and put ashore to find his way to his old home. The married Turks were allowed a month to put their houses in order, and were then deported in the same summary manner. The Dái betook himself with his private treasures into exile in Italy, and not a Turk remained in Algiers. The sum of two million sterling in specie was found in the Treasury, and became the spoil of the conquerors, with all the shipping, guns, and stores of the Regency; and though the French disclaimed all ideas of territorial annexation, Algeria became from that time forth a French possession.

The Sultan was alarmed and annoyed at the loss to Islam of "Ghazi Gazáir" ("Algiers the warlike"), as the Turks fondly called it, and he resorted to too tardy measures for reasserting the authority of the Ottoman Porte over the Turks in Barbary. In 1835, Sultan Mahmud took advantage of a civil war for the succession to the Regency to send Turkish troops to occupy Tripoli. The dynasty of the Karamánli Pashas, which had existed

for more than one hundred years, was extinguished, and Tripoli was reduced to the position of an ordinary Wiláyat of the Turkish Empire. Its chief interest to-day consists in its being the principal port by which slaves are smuggled into the Ottoman dominions, in spite of Imperial firmans and consular remonstrances.

The Sultan would have pursued the same policy with regard to Tunis, but was warned off by the French, who did not choose to have an Ottoman province on the frontier of their Algeria, and probably even at that time cherished their own designs on Tunis. The Tunisian Regency was meanwhile reformed on the lines of the "Tanzímat" adopted in Turkey, the army remodelled on the Nizam system, religious toleration proclaimed, and many Western Institutions established, with the usual result of putting a new patch on an old garment: the State grew weaker and weaker, all real power passed into the hands of the European consuls; and when the French, unprovokedly and unjustifiably seized upon the Regency, in 1881, the Bey succumbed without a struggle.

The Mussulman population could only give vent to their indignation at this wanton aggression by a "harakat-i mazbúhi" (a victim's death-spasm), suppressed almost as soon as begun; whereas the Arabs of Algeria, who had endured quietly the yoke of a handful of Turks for three hundred years, waged a desperate war with the French Giaurs for close on twenty years before they finally succumbed to fate, and submitted to an "infidel" Government. Even since the capture of Abdul Kadir and the total suppression of the general insurrection, there have been at least ten rebellions of the Arab tribes in Algeria. But these have occurred at rarer intervals; and the easy conquest and rapid pacification of Tunis seems to point to the conclusion that even in Barbary the flame of Mussulman fanaticism is well-nigh exhausted, and that the introduction of European civilization has accomplished its usual disintegrating influence on the political ideas and institutions of Islam. The French

now rule over all Maghrab al Awsat, and the Italians cast longing eyes upon Tripoli, which might be theirs with as much right and with more reason than Massowah, and which will probably one day fall to them in the approaching and inevitable disruption of the Ottoman Empire. An imperative destiny is leading Japhet to dwell in the tents of Shem, and substituting for the rude and partial civilization of Islam a system more in accordance with the principles of modern progress, and more in harmony with the Christian spirit of the age.

COL. TYRRELL.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(*Continued from our last issue.*)

QUICK to discern the character of their rulers, even if often forgetful and apparently ungrateful, the natives of India are never unresponsive to kindness and geniality; and they found in Elliot all the qualities they looked for in one placed in his high position—firmness, manliness, gentleness, and equability of temper, joined to a strong desire to become intimately acquainted with themselves, their customs and feelings, no less than their language and history.* It is no wonder that a few years later, viz. in 1829, he was retained in that district by Government, though he was a Madras civilian, and the Mahratta country was placed under the Bombay government. This was an exceptional recognition of good service, and one of which Elliot was justly proud. Sir John Malcolm would not allow him to be superseded, and made a special appointment in order to allow of his retention in his old province. Here therefore he remained till 1833, when he went home for the first time in his service on furlough, after having been in India twelve years, ten of which were spent in and about Dhárwár.

As to the manner of Elliot's life during these years we get the best knowledge, not from himself, for he says very little about it, but from two outside sources. One is the tradition of the country people, who still cling to Elliot's memory as to that of one of the best men they ever had over them, and the other is the well-known work by the late Col. Walter Campbell, called "My Indian Journal." Here we have a record of Elliot's devotion to sport, and

* Mr. Jardine tells me that Sir W. Elliot left behind him a great name in the Carnatic country, and that he is still remembered there. This, after an interval of 70 years, is exceedingly high praise for an Indian official.

the resulting study of natural history, given us by one who had never met him before, but to whom he speedily endeared himself by his fine qualities. It is not generally known that the "Elliot" of "My Indian Journal" was the late Sir Walter of that name.

It seems that Colonel Campbell, then a subaltern, had a brother in the Civil Service working in the same province as Mr. Elliot, and to them, living at Dhárwár, Campbell journeyed from Madras, riding and shooting on the road. He travelled by way of Chittoor, Punganûr, Bangalore, and Chitaldroog. The journey lasted from October 4th, 1830, to February 23rd, 1831, on which date Campbell arrived at Dhárwár. He had several adventures on the way, among which must be numbered a night attack made on him by a band of dacoits close to Dhárwár; but he emerged unhurt from the affray, and on February 24th met for the first time Walter Elliot, then twenty-eight years old and a Sub-collector. The two became fast friends, and, as the following extracts will show, devoted themselves energetically to all manly sports. I make no apology for inserting several extracts from Colonel Campbell's book, for it is a stroke of rare good fortune to have this testimony to Elliot's worth penned by one who was a stranger to him in his earlier years, and who only met him first when both were in the prime of young manhood. Sir Walter was never wont to narrate his adventures with gun and rifle; and though the house at Wolfelee is a perfect museum of natural history, the walls covered with trophies, and the principal staircase hung all over with skins, while above is a room specially set apart as a natural history museum, few visitors ever knew how many of these wild animals fell to Elliot's own gun. These extracts also serve other purposes. They tell us how in those days the younger European residents of India employed their spare time. They show what can be done by a man who is not merely a sportsman but has a touch of the naturalist in him. They bring before us the manners and customs of

Anglo-Indians sixty years ago, and prove the influence for good exercised by Mr. Elliot on his companions. Further, this whole series of papers is a *réchauffé* of notes made long ago; and notes by a third party relating to Sir Walter himself can hardly fail to be of interest. I begin with an extract from Colonel Campbell's own preface:—*

"While these sheets have been passing through the press, my old friend Walter Elliot of Wolfelee—the Elliot mentioned in the text—who was my preceptor in Natural History and Indian Woodcraft, and a better sportsman or more zealous naturalist never shouldered rifle or handled scalpel—has been good enough to look over the proofs and return them to me, with any remarks which occurred to him; and these remarks—which I consider a valuable addition to the work, as coming from the pen of so experienced a naturalist, and so good an Oriental linguist as Elliot is known to be—I have inserted as footnotes, with his initials attached, to distinguish them from my own notes."

A month after his arrival at Dhárwár Campbell penned the following lines:—

"The society of Dhárwár is decidedly above par. The civilians, in particular, are exceedingly well-informed and gentlemanlike young men, and are first-rate sportsmen, without any of the slang and swagger of 'sporting men.' They neither keep bull-dogs nor fighting-cocks, nor do they dress like 'swell dragsmen' and talk like stable-boys. They make use of good honest homely English, in preference to the pick-pocket slang, which I regret to say is now becoming much too common, and which, when interlarded with a few quaint blasphemies, is supposed to impart force and brilliancy to the conversation of the 'bang up sporting character.' . . .

"Half the heroes of 'the ring' are unknown to them

* At Wolfelee is a presentation copy of the book, given to Sir Walter by the late Colonel Campbell, on the fly leaf of which is the dedication to "Walter Elliot, from his Old Friend and Pupil in Woodcraft, the Author."

even by name, and I doubt much whether one among them could answer the simple questions, 'Who wears the champion's belt?' 'What is the exact weight of the famous dog Billy?' or 'Whether the Manchester Pet or the Game Chicken came off victorious in the last mill?' And yet I have never met with harder riders, better rifle-shots, or stauncher men to back you in the hour of danger than these same quiet gentlemanlike civilians."

A few days after Campbell's arrival the young Englishmen of Dhárwár seem to have gone out to camp on an organized shooting expedition; and it will be noticed that Elliot appears to have retained in his employ a regular staff of the best native "shikarries" procurable, without which arrangement little can ever be seen of the higher kinds of sport in India. Untrained men are useless, and "casuals" can never be depended upon in an emergency.

"*March 1st.*—We have opened our campaign gloriously. Yesterday I shot two spotted bucks before breakfast; and to-day we have taken the scalp of the famous wandering tiger, which has been the terror of the neighbourhood for the last six months.

"This morning, Elliot's native hunters, who have been on the trail of a tiger for a week past, brought intelligence that they had at last succeeded in marking him down. After following him from jungle to jungle, they watched him, at daybreak this morning, as he was returning to the Omlekop thickets, and turned him into one of the small ravines on the hills, beyond Munsoor, where he was surrounded, and word sent into camp that we should lose no time in going out, as he was savage, and likely to break through the line.

"Old 'Anak,' a fine elephant, which we had borrowed from a neighbouring rajah, was instantly despatched with guns and ammunition in the howdah, and Elliot, my brother, and I followed soon after on horseback.

"On arriving at the ground, eight miles from the camp, we found everything looking well for a certain kill. The

tiger had been marked into a small open ravine, where there was no strong cover, and every rising ground within sight was crowned by a look-out man, to turn him or mark him down if he should break away. All possible precautions having been taken to prevent his escape, we mounted the elephant, and the tiger was roused by a rattle of 'tom-toms' and a wild shout from the beaters. He was on foot in a moment, and, with a loud roar, dashed from the ravine, and took away across country at a lobbing gallop.

"The elephant was badly placed, and the tiger passed us at a distance of 150 yards, going at a pace which rendered the chances of hitting him very slight indeed. Two balls rang among the rocks close behind him; and just as he was topping the hill, a long rifle-shot appeared to touch him, for a short angry roar was borne back upon the breeze, and the beaters made signs that he was hit. We followed at the best pace old 'Anak' could muster; and on reaching the summit of the hill, saw the tiger slowly stealing down a ravine on the opposite side. He was out of shot, and we halted to mark him down, and to send the beaters to a place of safety; for he was evidently wounded, and therefore dangerous. One man alone; intoxicated with opium, disregarded every warning signal. The tiger was going straight towards him. We called and beckoned in vain. The infatuated wretch drew his sword, and waved it in defiance, while we saw the fatal crisis approaching, and could do nothing to save him.

"Elliot ordered the 'mahout' to urge the elephant forward at his utmost speed. I shall never forget the excitement of that moment. My brother and I, both novices in tiger-hunting, were almost in a rabid state; and in our anxiety to rescue the doomed wretch from his impending fate, we stamped with impatience, and abused the driver for not exerting himself sufficiently, although he was plying the goad with all his strength, and making the blood flow, and extorting a scream of pain from the unfortunate elephant at every stroke.

"But all was in vain. Before we were half-way down the hill, the tiger had caught sight of the poor helpless drunkard, standing directly in his path, and his doom was sealed. He might still have made an effort to escape, for he had a long start; but he appeared paralysed with fear when he saw the tiger making directly towards him with terrific bounds. The brute was upon him with the speed of light. We saw him rear for an instant over his victim, who attempted to defend himself with his sword and shield. One savage roar rang through the soul of the stricken wretch, and he was dashed to the ground, amidst a cloud of dust, through which we could just distinguish the agitated forms of the tiger and the wretched man, writhing like a crushed worm in his gripe. It was over in an instant. The tiger trotted off sulkily to a small patch of thorny bushes, and being now excited to madness by the taste of blood, stood boldly awaiting our attack. The elephant was pushed forward with all speed, the tiger roaring furiously as we advanced, and the moment his splendid head appeared a volley from six barrels sent him staggering back into the centre of the bush. He rallied instantly, and made a brilliant charge close up to the elephant's trunk, when he was again turned by a well-directed volley from the spare guns, and retreated growling to his lair.

"We now retired a short distance to reload, and when we advanced again, the tiger, although bleeding at every pore, rushed forth to meet us, as savage as ever. He was again turned before he could spring on the elephant, and again dragged forward his bleeding body to the charge, roaring as if his heart would burst with impotent rage. We now let him come up quite close, so that every ball might tell, and gave him shot after shot, till he crawled back exhausted into the bushes. We followed him up, and in a last expiring effort to reach the elephant, he was shot dead, while struggling to make good his charge. He was game to the last; and Elliot, who has killed many tigers, says he never saw one die more gallantly.

"Having ascertained by poking him with a spear that the tiger was actually dead, we dismounted from the 'howdah,' and leaving the 'mahout' to reward his unwieldy pet after his exertions by giving him balls of sugar dipped in the tiger's blood, went to look after the unfortunate beater who had been struck down. We found him lying under a bush, in a dying state, and a more frightful spectacle I never beheld. His lower jaw was carried away, as if he had been struck by a cannon-ball, his cheek bones were crushed to pieces, and the lacerated muscles of the throat hung down over his chest. So dreadful was the injury that literally nothing of the face was left below the eyes. He appeared quite sensible, poor fellow, and made frantic signs for water, whilst his blood-shot eyes, rolling wildly, imparted to the head the most ghastly expression I ever beheld. It was, of course, utterly impossible to afford him the slightest relief, and death soon put an end to his sufferings.

"I was much struck with the extraordinary apathy of the natives on this occasion. Many of them passed the mangled body of their companion with a careless glance, merely remarking 'that it was his fate'; and those who remained to witness his dying struggles evinced no more feeling for him than if he had been a dog, unless their suggestion that we should put an end to his misery by shooting him through the head might be considered as such. The poor fellow himself intimated by signs that he wished us to do so; but we could not, of course, comply with his request.

"The important operation of singeing the tiger's whiskers having been performed by the oldest native hunter, the carcass was laid upon a cart drawn by six bullocks, and decorated with flags, and was thus dragged home in triumph. On skinning the tiger, we found sixteen balls lodged in his body, most of which had entered his chest, a strong proof of the extraordinary tenacity of life possessed by these animals."

The following extract may be considered superfluous, but I think it will be read with interest:—

"*Dhárwár, April 5th.*—I have this morning made the acquaintance of a remarkable character. Allow me to introduce him. I was sitting in the verandah after breakfast smoking a cheroot, admiring a magnificent bison's head which hung over the doorway, and longing to have a day fixed for our expedition to the great western forest, where I hoped to earn a similar trophy for myself, when a strange wild figure, armed with a matchlock of unusual length, entered the gate of the 'compound,' and advanced towards me at an easy sling-trot, keeping his eyes fixed upon the ground, and instead of following the path, swerving to the right and left, as if seeking for something he had lost.

"His wild air and strange motions led me to suspect he was deranged, and my suspicions were not diminished when, on catching a glimpse of Ravenscroft's tame deer, the trail of which the old savage had, from the force of habit, been following up, he uttered a wild whoop, levelled his matchlock as if about to fire, then, with a low chuckling laugh, recovered the weapon, threw it across his shoulder, and stepping up to me with a broad grin, extended his long skinny paw in token of friendship.

"We had exchanged civilities—for my savage friend was remarkably courteous in his manner—and were trying, but in vain, to make ourselves intelligible to each other, when Elliot, who happened to enter the verandah, sprang forward with an exclamation of joyful recognition, and shaking the old man cordially by the hand, introduced him to me as his particular friend, 'Kamah, the Jagheerdar.'

"This, then, was the renowned Kamah—the bloodhound of the western forest; that prince of trackers, of whose fame I had heard so much, and whose exploits had formed the subject of my waking dreams for the last month; and it was with feelings very much akin to those I experienced on first beholding our immortal 'Iron Duke'

that I now gazed on the swarthy features and eagle eye of this great general of the wilderness.

"While the stark old hunter was engaged in earnest conversation with Elliot, I had a good opportunity of scanning his figure and accoutrements. He was a tall, wiry man, apparently about sixty years of age, and looked as if hard exercise and constant exposure to a tropical sun had completely dried up the juices and softer particles of his frame, leaving nothing but bone, sinew, and muscle. His step had all the freedom and elasticity of youth; and there was an air of dignity about the old man, a stateliness of carriage, and a look of proud self-possession in his piercing eye, that marked him at once for a free denizen of the forest—one of nature's aristocracy.

"His dress and accoutrements were quite in keeping with his general appearance. A greasy skull-cap, which had once boasted a variety of gaudy colours, covered his woolly pate, now grizzled by age; a narrow strip of cotton cloth passed between his legs and fastened to a girdle round his loins was the only piece of dress exclusively devoted to purposes of decency. But a coarse blanket or 'cumbley' of goat's hair was thrown jauntily across his left shoulder, partly for effect, and partly to be used in case of wet weather, or to serve as a protection against the dew when sleeping in the open air. On his left side was suspended a pouch of dressed leopard skin, containing his bullets, tobacco, and materials for striking a light; and on the right he carried his powder-flask, formed of the shell of a small cocoa-nut, covered with antelope skin, and secured by a wooden stopper. A venerable-looking matchlock, richly ornamented with brass, a small hatchet, and a well-worn creese thrust into his belt, completed his accoutrements. But what struck me most forcibly in his appearance was the decidedly African cast of his features, and the woolly texture of his hair—peculiarities unknown among the native tribes of India.

"This was afterwards explained by Elliot, who informed

me that Kamah was in reality an African, or 'Seedee,' one of a remarkable tribe inhabiting the Western Forest, and said to be descended from runaway African slaves, who fled from the early Portuguese settlers at Goa, and established a little colony in the heart of the jungles, where they continue to support themselves by hunting and rearing a few tame buffaloes."

I omit the detailed account of the sport that followed, and pass to an extract which I reproduce as showing Elliot's habits in the jungle. After an animal was shot it was promptly measured, and all peculiarities noted. Sir Walter left many volumes of manuscript natural history notes besides the "miscellaneous volumes" from which are taken the fragments now published.

"*Hunting Camp, April 8th* (1831).—My brother succeeded in killing the old buck of the herd, which he had followed; and Elliot brought home a wild boar. The others had fired several shots, but returned without any game. As soon as we had finished breakfast, the whole party sallied forth to examine the dead bison, piloted by the Jagheerdar, and accompanied by a party of 'coolies' to carry home the heads.

Having taken exact measurement of the animals, made a rough sketch of them, and noted down their peculiarities, —according to the directions of Elliot, who is a zealous naturalist, and has kindly adopted me as a pupil,—we proceeded to decapitate our victims. . . ."

I cannot, while sparing readers the accounts of sporting adventures which would be out of place in a short biographical sketch, refrain from reproducing an anecdote by Col. Campbell of the celebrated Kamah.

"Elliot, being senior sportsman of the party, has adopted me as his pupil in woodcraft, and availed himself of the opportunity, while we were smoking our cheroots after dinner, to give me some useful hints. Among other things he particularly cautioned me against bullying the Jagheerdar, or giving him brandy, for which he has an inordinate

liking. 'For,' continued Elliot, 'he becomes a thorough savage when excited either by ardent spirits or his own evil passions, and on such occasions is rather given to the use of lethal weapons. In proof of this I shall relate an anecdote of him which occurred during my last visit to the jungles. The Colonel of a British regiment accompanied me, and brought with him an English servant to look after his guns and horses. The Englishman had picked up enough of the native language to make himself understood, and the Jagheerdar and he were at first sworn friends and boon companions. But on one occasion I imprudently gave them some brandy to regale themselves after a hard day's work. They sat late and drank deep, and having quarrelled over their cups, old Kamah instinctively drew his knife; but before he could use it, by a well-directed blow between the eyes, was felled to the ground and disarmed. The crafty savage, finding himself inferior in physical strength to his more muscular antagonist, affected to yield to him with good grace, and by next morning the open-hearted Englishman had half-forgotten and quite forgiven the savage conduct of his swarthy friend, to whom he returned the knife, with a good-humoured laugh at the old fellow's swollen face and half-closed eyes. Not so Kamah. The insult offered to his African features rankled in his breast, and he thirsted for revenge. We had arranged on that day to drive the jungles for game, and the Englishman volunteered to assist as a beater. In the midst of the beat he heard the report of a matchlock behind him, and a bullet, whistling close to his ear, lodged in the stem of a tree within an inch of his head.

"'Too near to be pleasant!' thought he, as he started up with a round oath, and shouted to the invisible marksman to 'mind his eye.' At the same moment old Kamah stepped from behind a bush within fifty yards of where he stood, and coming up to him with a broad grin, extended his hand in the most friendly manner, telling him at the

same time, as if it were a capital joke, that it was he who fired the shot, in revenge for the blow he had received the night before; but was now satisfied the Englishman was either a Swamy* or bore a charmed life, for that he had never before missed so fair a mark; and humbly begged leave to shake hands and make friends with so gifted an individual. Honest John could not see the force of this reasoning; neither did he at all relish the joke, which appeared to tickle old Kamah's fancy so much. But thinking it safer to have him for a friend than a foe, particularly in thick cover, he at last agreed to shake hands; and considering it unworthy of an Englishman to bear malice, was from that time forth on as friendly terms as ever with the Jagheerdar. But I have ever since been on my guard with the old savage; and never allow him a drop of his favourite liquor as long as I remain in his neighbourhood."

Here is Campbell's enthusiastic description of an evening spent in Mr. Elliot's hunting camp.

"Reader, you have probably spent many a happy hour among your brother officers at the mess-table; you may have shared in the fun and frolic of a hunting breakfast at Melton, or you may have enjoyed the social glee and brotherly fellowship of a masonic supper. Perhaps, like myself, you have tried them all, and have enjoyed each in their turn; but unless you have visited the "Land of the Sun," you may depend upon it you have much to learn. If you wish to see sociability, comfort, and brotherly feeling; if you want to learn what real good living is; and if you appreciate agreeable society, tempered by sobriety and seasoned by wit, you must to the 'greenwood,' with a party of thoroughbred Indian sportsmen; for there you will find them combined and in perfection.

"And here I must remark that by 'thoroughbred' I mean not only high-couraged and game to the backbone;

* "Swamy," a god.

but well-informed, gentlemanlike, and agreeable, as, I am happy to say, my present companions are.

"I pray you, Friend, to fancy yourself returned from a fatiguing ramble in the forest, hot and dusty, but elate with success; that you have enjoyed a refreshing bath, and that, having exchanged your hunting dress for a light linen clothing and thrust your wearied feet into a pair of embroidered Indian slippers, you are seated in a large airy tent, the canvas walls of which are raised on one side to admit the refreshing breeze. The table is covered with the finest damask, and loaded with viands intermixed with plate and sparkling crystal. Take, for example, a haunch of venison, that would do no discredit to the best park in England; a cold wild boar's head soused in vinegar; wild boar chops, combining the flavour of venison with that of the most delicate pork; a noble venison pasty, over which Friar Tuck would have pronounced a benison with watering lips; stews, curries, and ragouts, composed of every variety of small game, and cunningly devised by Elliot's incomparable artiste, the Portuguese 'babachee'*; marrow bones of bison and deer, and a dozen other sylvan dainties too numerous to mention. A host of native servants, clothed in white muslin, with scarlet turbans and sashes, stand around, watching with anxious looks to anticipate your slightest wish; and in a remote corner you may observe a dusky figure (the high priest of Bacchus) squatted on his heels, and intent on cooling to the exact pitch some dozen long-necked bottles, that conjure up visions of ruby claret and sparkling champagne. The bronzed features of your companions, glowing with healthful excitement, and beaming with good fellowship, smile around the hospitable board. And the gay scene is lighted up by a profusion of wax candles in tall glass shades, to protect them from the gentle breathing of the night air, which, playing round the tent, fans your heated blood into refreshing coolness.

"Fancy yourself snugly ensconced in an arm-chair,

* "Bawarchee," a cook.

recounting your own adventures, and listening to those of your brother sportsmen. Fancy the interesting discussions, the comparing of notes and drawings that takes place between the scientific members of the party, and the good-humoured jokes that are bandied among the less learned but lighter-hearted youngsters. Fancy all this, friend, and say if you can imagine anything more delightful than the mode of life of an Indian hunting-party."

On April 9th, Campbell pens the following anecdote :

"I witnessed this evening a curious method of hunting practised by the natives, which I must attempt to describe. We were sitting in front of the tent after dinner, the happy camp-followers—happy, because idle and gorged with venison—had sung themselves to sleep, and deep silence brooded over the woods, save when the whine of a panther or the distant roar of a wandering tiger, was borne on the night wind from the deepest recesses of the forest : or the sullen plunge of an alligator was more distinctly heard in the neighbouring river.

"The moon had not yet risen ; and the landscape was shrouded in darkness, except in our immediate neighbourhood, where the bickering light of our camp-fire fell upon the corpse-like figures of the sleeping natives, swathed in their white robes ; and lighted up with picturesque effect the gnarled stem and spreading boughs of a stately teak-tree from which were suspended the carcasses of several deer, the grim head of a bull bison, and other trophies of the chase.

"No one spoke ; for each and all of us experienced that delightful sensation of perfect repose, that luxurious lassitude, which can only be experienced by one who has braved the almost intolerable glare of an Indian sun, and can only be enjoyed under the serene sky and amidst the balmy freshness of an Indian night.

"I was fast sinking into a dreamy reverie, now tracing fantastic shapes in the light wreaths of vapour which curled upwards from my glowing 'chillum,' and now con-

trasting the air of comfort and elegance presented by the interior of our gaily-lighted tent, with the deep gloom of the surrounding forest, when I was startled by hearing the distant sound of a bell; and on looking in the direction from whence it proceeded, I discovered, far back in the woods, a brilliant light flitting among the trees.

"I immediately called Elliot's attention to this unusual appearance.

"'It is some poaching fellows from the village,' he replied, 'blazing deer. I wish they would keep nearer home, and not destroy the game in the neighbourhood of our camp.'

"'Blazing deer!' I exclaimed, 'and to the sound of a bell? This is surely a strange style of hunting!'

"'Have you never heard of it before?' asked Elliot.

"'Never,' I replied.

"'Then it is well worth seeing, arrant poaching though it be; and if you do not mind the trouble of slipping on your boots and shooting-jacket, we may have a look at these fellows before we go to bed.'

"I was delighted to avail myself of Elliot's offer; and guided by the light and the sound of the bell, we soon overtook two natives busily engaged in their nocturnal sport. One of them carried in his hand a bell, which he kept constantly ringing, and on his head was fastened a small brazier filled with glowing charcoal. In the deep gloom of the forest he presented the wildest and most fantastic appearance that can be imagined, and brought vividly to my recollection the descriptions I have read of the mad enthusiast, Solomon Eagle, who made himself so conspicuous during the great plague in London. His companion, an active, wiry little savage, with an eye like a lynx, was merely armed with a heavy curved weapon—something between a cook's chopping knife and a sword—as sharp as a razor and commonly known in India as a Coorg-knife.

"Being both inhabitants of the Jagheerdar's village, and

personally known to Elliot, they were much flattered by our proposal to join in their sport; and we had soon an opportunity of witnessing their skill in this very curious method of hunting.

"The man who carries the fire and the bell moves slowly and cautiously through the thickets, ringing as he goes; while his companion follows close behind him, keeping a sharp look-out ahead. The deer, alarmed by the sound of the bell, start from their hiding-places; but, bewildered, and apparently fascinated by the glare of the burning charcoal —which dazzles their sight, and prevents them from distinguishing the forms of the hunters—they approach the object of their wonder, as if under the influence of a spell. The light reflected from their staring eyeballs discovers their presence to the hunters. Solomon Eagle comes to a halt and ceases to ring his bell, while his active companion, stealing round the bewildered animals, attacks them in the rear, and with his formidable Coorg-knife, hamstrings as many as he can reach, before they become aware of their danger, and fly from the treacherous light.

"In this manner we saw three deer destroyed within an hour; and our poaching friends would, no doubt, have done further execution had we not bribed them to discontinue their sport, by inviting them to return to camp, and partake of a glass of their favourite brandy."

The party enjoyed the excitement of a "beat" on a grand scale, carefully arranged by Mr. Elliot, as appears from the following passage.

"*April 13th.*—Elliot, being anxious to show me as much as possible of Indian sporting, gave orders for a grand beat to take place this morning, in the Oriental style.

"Messengers were despatched yesterday, to collect as many men as possible from the neighbouring villages; and to-day we commenced work, after breakfast, with two hundred beaters in line, taking a circle of forest about a mile in diameter, at each beat. The natives are very fond of this style of sport, and engage in it with the utmost

spirit. The hunters best acquainted with the forest select the passes where the guns are to be posted. At each pass a light screen of branches is erected, and behind this the sportsman crouches, and remains perfectly still till the game is driven up to him. Unless closely pressed by beaters, the animals generally come up at a slow pace, carefully reconnoitring the ground as they advance, and thus afford an easy shot. But if a deer happens to dash past at a grea pace, a whistle, or a clap of the hand, will generally make him stop for an instant to listen, and then is the moment for the grooved barrel to send its hissing ball with fatal precision."

I append a footnote written by Mr. Elliot in Col. Campbell's book to illustrate a phase of Indian sport with which he was entirely familiar. In this case the anecdote turns on Mr. Elliot's own experiences.

"The advantage to a sportsman of an elevated position cannot be doubted, not only for the reason given in the text, but because it presents a wider field of view, and affords earlier notice of the approach of game.

"Wild animals, moreover, not only smell danger--they see it, they hear it. The quickness of the senses of beasts of chase, and the readiness with which they detect an unusual sight or sound, is very remarkable. But there is one peculiarity in the exercise of their watchfulness. They never, unless specially attracted, look up. Their experience has been derived from dangers on foot, and their vigilance is therefore directed to objects on their own level. Hence the advantage of a post on a tree.

"The following instances illustrate these habits :—

"On one occasion, while shooting small game in a sparsely-wooded nullah near Hookairy, in the Kolapoor country, with the late George C., the author's brother (the most warm-hearted and affectionate of friends, the keenest and pluckiest of sportsmen), we came unexpectedly on a tiger. The beaters were instantly sent down, double quick, to cut off its retreat from the low country; whilst

George and I, each with a single attendant, ran to the head of a ravine, leaving orders to drive the tiger up. Near the top the nullah divided into two branches and then ceased; the intervening space to the summit of the ridge, distant about 100 yards, being quite bare. Each guarded one of the branches, selecting the largest bush that offered, for there were no trees. My post was in a karonda bush (*Carissa karondas*), about seven or eight feet high; and when I got on the top of it, kneeling on the shikari's blanket, with him holding a spare gun, our united weight brought us still lower. The tiger was soon on foot, and the luck was mine. It came up my branch, passing within ten or twelve yards, but so close that I was afraid to fire, lest it should turn to the shot and charge. I therefore let it pass, and fired just as it crowned the crest of the ridge. I knew from the sound that the ball had struck; but to my dismay, instead of falling or descending the other side, the brute wheeled round and rushed back. This time it came directly towards me. A collision seemed inevitable. Keeping perfectly still, and determined not to fire till the last moment, I watched its approach with the most intense anxiety, and saw its eyes glancing hurriedly from side to side. Down it came, brushing the very bush on which we sat, so that I could easily have touched it with my gun. Had it looked up, we could not have escaped; but though, from the inclination of the ground, it had been all the while immediately above us, so that it was hardly possible for it to miss seeing us, it never did. Sending a couple of shots after it, we found it lying dead at the foot of the hill. It was a fine tigress. The first shot had passed through her loins.

"Another time, at Kardagee, George and I had another impromptu rencontre with a tiger. This time we beat down the nullah, to the place where it opened on the cultivated plain, and where several fine trees offered excellent posts. The beat was long, the day was hot, and I had fallen asleep on my perch. A pressure of the arm

from my attendant awoke me, and I saw the tiger emerging stealthily from the cover within seventy or eighty yards. The click of the rifle-lock, although so slight a sound, caught his ear, amid the noonday silence of the jungle, when every creature is at rest. Instantly he stopped short, one foot raised in the act of advancing, and peered cautiously round on every side, but never looked up. So beautiful was the sight that I paused in admiration for several seconds before firing. Then, with a short roar, he bounded high in the air, the blood spouting from his mouth, and disappeared. George, who could see him from his post on the opposite side, shouted, 'Dead!' and descending we found that the ball had gone right through his heart." [W. E.]

Here follows a description of Mr. Elliot's hunting camp :—

"Elliot, being a civilian of some standing, travels with a retinue becoming his rank; and although our party is now reduced to two, our followers on the line of march still present an imposing appearance. We have three tents—the mess tent, carried by camels, and two smaller tents, which we use as sleeping apartments, carried by bullocks.

"Our old elephant, 'Anak,' with his driver and another attendant, leads the procession. He is followed by four thoroughbred Arab horses, each attended by his groom and grass-cutter, with their wives and children. Then come the camel and tent bullocks, a squadron of native ponies, or 'tattoos,' loaded with baggage and trophies of the chase; and some dozen 'coolies' bearing our beds, camp furniture, and 'cowrie-baskets.' The rear is brought up by a host of native servants, tent-pitchers, and nondescript camp-followers of every age and sex, occasionally intermixed with jugglers, snake-charmers, and dancing-girls, who join us at the various villages, in hopes of being allowed to exhibit at the next halting-place for the amusement of the 'Burrah-sahibs.' And the whole are under the charge of Elliot's two peons, or armed followers, who

are distinguished from other servants by wearing an embroidered shoulder-belt with a large silver breast-plate. The duties of a peon are very similar to those of a Highland chieftain's henchman of former days; he attends his master on all occasions, carries his spare gun in hunting, scours the country in quest of game, acts as his confidential messenger, and, on approaching a village, runs before him, proclaiming his titles and shouting his praises. He is generally a fine, handsome fellow, and as consequential as a Highland piper.

"In the eyes of an European, it must appear strange and even absurd to see two young men, in weather-stained garments, leather leggings, and battered hunting-caps moving about the country with such a retinue of followers as I have enumerated. But the customs of the country, the nature of the climate, and the prejudices of the natives, which oblige them to close their doors against all Christians and other Kaffirs, render a large number of followers absolutely necessary to ensure anything like comfort on a march in India. A military man may—and indeed generally does—travel with only a small tent, in which he has hardly room to turn; one horse, a single bullock to carry his baggage, three coolies bearing his bed and 'cowrie-baskets,' and two native servants, besides the horse-keeper and grass-cutter. But with this—the very smallest number of attendants a traveller can have—he is exposed to many discomforts. He must either accompany his people in their slow march, of some two miles an hour; or if he chooses to ride on to the halting-place, he must sit for several hours under a tree, exposed to heat and dust, the attacks of ants, centipedes, and mosquitoes, and the intrusive curiosity of a host of gaping natives. When his patience is exhausted he may amuse himself and improve his already painfully good appetite, by rubbing down and dressing his horse till the baggage arrives; and then he must wait at least another hour before the tent is pitched and breakfast prepared. Add to this, that if his single

horse happens to fall lame, he is obliged to trudge the hot dusty roads on foot; that, owing to the scantiness of his baggage, he is unable to carry either wine or beer—the latter being considered almost a necessary of life in India—and is therefore obliged to stint himself to a very small allowance of brandy-and-water, hardly strong enough to kill the animalculæ; and that, in spite of the utmost economy, he sometimes runs short even of this; and you have some of the discomforts resulting from a scanty train of followers. In the travelling camp of a rich civilian the case is widely different. Every luxury is there; and in the heart of the jungles you find as many comforts and have as good attendance as you could desire in the best regulated house.

"Immediately after dinner our mess-tent is struck, and sent on during the night to the next halting-ground with a set of servants appointed for this duty. After smoking our hookah and sipping our coffee, we retire, each to his own little tent, where we find a comfortable bed and dressing apparatus prepared. And next morning, at daybreak, after another cup of hot coffee, we mount our horses and canter on to the next stage, where we find a large roomy tent pitched, carpets spread, tables laid out with books and writing materials, clean clothes and bathing materials prepared, and our well-groomed horses fresh and ready for any work we may have for them during the day.

"Having bathed and refreshed ourselves, breakfast is the cry; and, at the word, a host of obsequious natives appear, bearing curries and pillaws, eggs, omelets, dried fish, sardines, and venison cutlets; claret, green tea and coffee, iced water and fruit, and other luxuries, which none but an Indian breakfast can boast. By the time breakfast is finished, and the fragrant hookah discussed, the followers have arrived, and the remainder of the camp is pitched; and thus we move along, by easy stages, enjoying healthful exercise with constant change of scene; and finding everything as comfortable and well-arranged as if the tents had never been moved. Another important advantage of

travelling with a civilian is this, that being looked upon in the light of a Rajah, every man, woman, and child in the district is the humble and willing slave of 'His Mightiness.' If he be a sportsman—and few young civilians in India are not—the native huntsmen of the different villages, hearing of his approach, are almost sure to have a tiger, a 'sounder' of wild hog, or some other large game, marked down previous to his arrival; and a word to the obsequious Ameldar ensures the services of every male inhabitant of the village to act as beaters. And so we travel in princely style, receiving homage from the dignitaries of each village, and finding bears, tigers, and wild hog awaiting our pleasure at almost every stage."

I insert the next anecdotes, as showing that Mr. Elliot was as good on a horse as he was with a rifle.

"*April 23rd.*—Elliot and I fell in with a 'sounder' of hog this morning, on our way back from a neighbouring village, where he had been to transact some business. We fortunately had our hunters and spears with us, and soon collected a number of country people to drive them out of a field of grain in which they had taken refuge. We let the 'sounder' get well away, in hopes of a boar being left behind in the grain; but none appearing we laid into the largest sow at a pace that soon brought us alongside of her. Challenger went well, and this, being his first trial, pleases me much. He shows great speed, is perfectly temperate, and turns well in a snaffle, which is a qualification of the utmost importance in a hog-hunter. I ought to have taken the first spear easily; but being a novice in the use of the weapon I missed my thrust, smashed my spear-head among the stones, nearly lost my seat, and was cut out by Elliot on a much slower horse.

"We had hardly reached the tents when we were met by a 'peon' with the welcome intelligence of a large boar wallowing in a small lake within half a mile of the tents.

"Spears and fresh horses were quickly produced, and we had just mounted, when a horseman galloped up and

announced a tiger marked down in the opposite direction. We were now embarrassed with too much good news; but we speedily decided in favour of the tiger, and in less than an hour were seated on the back of our trusty friend 'Anak,' and listening to the shouts of the beaters as they drove the tiger towards us. He came up boldly, and was almost abreast of us, when, unfortunately, the elephant trumpeted, and spoilt all. The tiger instantly turned, and galloped back, at his best pace, to some impenetrable covert; and the flying shots we sent after him in his retreat only knocked up the gravel about his heels without doing him any harm. Every attempt to burn him out or force the elephant in was equally unavailing, for the bushes were green, and the tangled thicket perfectly impenetrable; and after expending all our fireworks, we were obliged to give in and leave him.

"*April 25th.*—Fortune favoured us to-day, three tigers having been found by the merest chance, when it appeared more than probable that we must return empty-handed. Elliot and I rode out at daylight to reconnoitre the country where our people had been sent the day before to look for tigers. We were holding a consultation with old Bussapa, who was quite in low spirits, having failed in discovering any fresh tracks; and we had just decided on trying new ground, when a tigress, with two well-grown cubs, nearly as large as herself, came down from the hills and quietly walked into a ravine within a few hundred yards of us. All was speedily arranged, the elephant posted in a good position, markers placed on every rising ground commanding the ravine, and the beaters drawn up ready to act. The signal was given. In went a flight of rockets accompanied by the true 'shikar' yell, and the tigress was afoot, trotting towards us. We let her come up within ten yards, and then, as she stood hesitating whether to charge or turn back upon the beaters, we gave her a volley that sent her down upon her haunches. She instantly rallied, and laid up in one of the strong coverts of the ravine. The two

cubs galloped past together, roaring so loud that the elephant became alarmed, and wheeled round at the moment when we were about to fire. This disconcerted our aim, and they escaped, one untouched and the other slightly wounded in the hind-quarter. The wounded cub crept, growling, into the first thick bush he reached, and was marked down by one of the look-out men; and there we left him to his meditations while we disposed of the old tigress. Little search was required to find her; she came boldly forth to meet us, received our fire, and dashed at the elephant without flinching, although she was severely hit, and was obliged to climb a high bank to reach him. A ball between the eyes dropped her, when in the act of springing on the elephant, and she rolled into the ravine dead."

I insert an account of Mr. Elliot's first success with bison. It is given by Col. Campbell in the former's own words.

"Crossing the river in a canoe, we* struck into the forest, and soon came upon a track which Kamah pronounced to be that of an old bull. On this he proceeded with the steadiness and sagacity of a bloodhound, though it was often imperceptible to our eyes; at times, when a doubt caused us to stop, he made a cast, and on recovering the trail, summoned us to proceed by a low whistle, or by imitating the cry of the spotted deer, for not a word was spoken, and the most perfect silence was enjoined. We followed his steps three miles to the river, then along the bank towards Dandilly, where the animal appeared to have crossed to the opposite side. Wading across and holding our guns and ammunition over our heads, we ascended the bank of a small island, covered with thick underwood and some large trees, among which the bull had lain down, about fifteen yards from where we stood. The jungle was so thick that we found it difficult to distinguish more than a great black mass among the underwood.

* Mr. Elliot and a friend.

"On firing, the animal got on his legs, received two more balls, and rushed into the jungle, where he became very furious; and we were obliged to shelter ourselves behind trees to avoid the repeated charges he made, though one ball through the shoulder, which had broken the bone above the elbow, prevented his moving with facility. He then became exhausted, and lay down, snorting loudly, and rising to charge when any one approached. A ball in the forehead caused him to roll over the precipitous bank into the river. Still, however, he was not dead; and several balls were fired into his forehead, behind the ear, and at the junction of the head and neck, before life became extinct. One ball, which had struck the vertebræ of the neck, was taken out almost pulverized. When drawn ashore and examined more minutely, the first sentiment produced in all present was astonishment at his immense bulk; his breadth and weight seemed so great that he looked like a young elephant."

Mr. Elliot appended the following note to a remark of Col. Campbell's.

"I have witnessed instances of crafty concert on the part of the wolf. On one occasion three gazelles passed just ahead of me at full speed, pursued by a single wolf, towards a nullah a little below me. Two of the gazelles bounded up the ascent on the other side, but neither the third nor the wolf appeared. Anxious to see what had become of them, I cantered down to the spot where they had crossed. There I found the poor antelope in the jaws of three wolves, which took to flight on seeing me, and left the venison at my disposal. The wolves had clearly been hunting on a preconcerted plan; two of them having lain *perdu* in the nullah, whilst the third undertook to drive the antelope to the spot where their hidden assailants could spring on them with advantage. [W.E.]"

The last extract which I shall give shows the costume worn by Englishmen in the Indian jungles in the thirties, sixty years ago. To our modern ideas it seems extra-

ordinary that such a garb should have been chosen, for the heat must have been intense, and the covering for the head most insufficient. This is Campbell's description of his own appearance as he rode back to the camp of his corps during the hottest time of the afternoon on the 31st of May, 1834—the hottest period of the year. Elliot's dress must of course have been similar.

"On riding up to the regimental mess-tent, I found my brother officers seated in front of it, sipping their claret and smoking their cheroots, and I was forthwith surrounded by a group of light-hearted 'subs,' who welcomed my return with three cheers for 'The Jungle Wallah,' and then, without any apparent cause, burst into fits of uncontrollable laughter. The melancholy procession I had met on entering the camp had not attuned my heart to mirth. I felt as though I had entered the house of mourning, and the joyous laugh of my young companions grated harshly on my ear. But a moment's reflection, and a glance at my uncouth garments, which contrasted strangely enough with the trim scarlet jackets and spotless white trousers of my brother officers, at once explained the cause of their mirth; and I was fain to join in the laugh against myself as heartily as any one.

"The fact is, I have lived so much in the jungles of late, and my eye has become so accustomed to the strange dress and accoutrements of an Indian hunter, that, till the moment I halted in front of the mess-tent, I had never bestowed a thought on the Robinson-Crusoe-like figure I presented, nor the impropriety, in a military point of view, of thus appearing in camp to report myself to a superior officer.

"Fancy a dust-begrimed figure, with a face tanned to the colour, and nearly to the consistency, of an old buff jerkin, seated on a handsome Arab horse, but clothed in an old, greasy fustian jacket, with brown cord breeches to match, without either neckcloth or waistcoat, his head covered by a hunting-cap of half-dressed buffalo leather, and his legs cased in long leggings of deer-skin, a belt of

leopard-skin buckled round his waist, supporting on one side an ammunition pouch of the same material, and on the other a long hunting-knife with a buck-horn handle mounted in silver, a double-barrelled rifle slung at his back, and a hog-spear grasped in his right hand; fancy the half-cleaned skull of a wolf protruding its grinning muzzle from under the flap of one holster, and the tail of a rare species of squirrel, picked up on the line of march, dangling from the other: and you will have some idea of my personal appearance, and of what the senior subaltern of the Light Company should *not* look like when he joins his regiment on service."

I should not omit to mention that in 1826 Walter Elliot had made the acquaintance of Mountstuart Elphinstone, whom he met at Sattara. In 1828 he met Sir John Malcolm at Bijapur, and very favourably impressed the governor. In 1832 he made a tour in Gujarat of six months' duration, and kept a capital journal, which is still in existence, and must be full of interest.

It must not be supposed that Mr. Elliot's sole occupations during this first period were sport and the office. Far from it. He was assiduous in collecting antiquities, as well as in carefully observing the natural history of the country. He obtained the information subsequently embodied in his Catalogue of the Mammalia inhabiting the region, and was engaged in close archæological studies. In 1836 the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* contains a paper by him on Hindu Inscriptions, and the then little known ancient dynasties of the Dakhan; and he sent with it two manuscript volumes containing nearly 600 copies of inscribed stones, which he had come across between 1823 and 1833. He was one of the earliest contributors to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, started in 1832, and he was mainly instrumental in founding the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science.* His papers on historical subjects constituted a standard work of reference on the subjectfor many years.

Leaving Bombay on furlough on December 11th, 1833, he spent the first year and a half of his leave in prolonged travel, arriving in England only on May 5th, 1835. The journey was begun in company with Robert Pringle, of the Bombay Civil Service. They went up the Red Sea in the cruiser *Coote* (Captain Rose), touching at the ports of Jidda and Mocha. At Mocha the travellers were compelled to leave the ship, which was detained there in consequence of the Bedouins having expelled Muhammad Ali's garrison, and plundered the place. They crossed in a tender to Massowa, on the Abyssinian coast, where Captain Moresby was surveying in the *Benares*, made the best of their way up the coast, and recrossed to Jidda, where they joined the Company's steamer, *Hugh Lindsay*, and proceeded to Kossair. Landing there they rode across the desert to Thebes. During this journey Elliot met Dr. Joseph Wolff, the celebrated missionary, who sailed in the ship from Bombay.

(*To be continued.*)

A ROUGH ACCOUNT, COLLECTED IN 1886, OF ITINERARIES IN THE "NEUTRAL ZONE" BETWEEN CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA. By RAJA KHUSHWAQTIA AND Dr. G. W. LEITNER.

ROUTE I.

FROM GILGIT TO KABUL, viâ Dareyl, Tangir, Kandiá, Ujù, Torwál, Swat, Dir, Maidán, Jandūl, Bajaur, Muravarri, Pashàt, Kunèr, Jelalabad, Kabul.

GILGIT TO SHERKILA, 9 katsha (rough) kôs * (1½ miles), ruled by Isa Bahadur's son, Raja Akbar Khan, under Kashmir, a faithful ally, contains 70 zemindars' (peasants') houses on the Yasin river.

SHERKILA TO PATÀRI (is uninhabited), over a ridge Pir (17 katsha kos) called Batrèt, which is a plateau on which the Dareylis graze their flocks in the spring.

PATÀRI TO YATSHOT (12 katsha kôs), road stony and jungly. Yatshōt is a village of Dareyl of one hundred houses, occupied by zemindars who have cattle, sheep, goats, and *buffaloes* (which are not found in Badakhshan). The ground produces much white maize (from which bread is made), wheat, barley, grapes growing to a gigantic size, nuts, etc. There is excellent water, but it is very cold. The people are Sunnis, and speak Shiná (the dialect of Chilás). [The Shins appear to have been a Hindu tribe expelled from Kashmir territory and converted to a sort of Muhammadanism, both Shiah and Sunni. They are the highest caste in Dardistan; but, instead of the Brahminical veneration for the cow, they abhor everything connected with it—its flesh and milk—and only touch its calf at the end of a prong.] Yatshōt has two mosques, and Mullas who understand Arabic well. The Dareylis are very religious, and attentive to their ceremonial practices. The streamlet of Dareyl runs past it.

YATSHÓT TO MANIKÁL, 3 katsha kôs, a plain easy march through a prairie. Manikál has two forts, one of which has about 500 houses, and is called Dòrkans; and the other, Manikál proper, which has 300 houses and an old Mosque. Manikál is surrounded by forests. When the Kashmīr troops reached Manikál, the Dareylis, after fighting, burned down their old fort rather than surrender. There are many Mullas and disciples there, some coming from Peshawar, Swat, etc.

MANIKÁL TO SAMANGÁL, 3 katsha kôs, over an inhabited plain. The fort contains 800 houses. A great elder (Djashtero) called Kalashmir resides there, whom all the Dareylis respect and follow, although there are many other Djashteros, like Muqaddams (elders, mayors), in Kashmir villages. He is wise and rich, possessing, perhaps, in addition to cattle,

* A kôs is a measurement of distance varying from 1 to 2¼ miles, and often depending on the speaker's impression due to hardships encountered or to other causes. "Katsha" and "pakka," for "rough, unfinished," and "thorough" respectively, are terms well known to Anglo-Indians. "Katsha" and "pakka" are generally spelt "kucha" and "pucka."

etc., 5 or 6 thousand tolas of gold; and he has one wife and two or three children. Persian is read there in addition to Arabic. There is also another fort containing 500 houses, also called Samangál, a few hundred yards from the first. In fact, Dareyl, although a small country, is thickly populated.

SAMANGÁL TO PÚGUTSH, a fort, with 500 houses, 2 katsha kós—thence 1 katsha kós to Gayál, a fort with 600 houses—all an easy road.

GAYÁL TO KÀMI, Fort Tangir, over a high mountain called Kùbbekunn, very windy, and wooded. Water must be taken with one when starting from Gayál, as none is found before reaching Rim, a small village of 20 houses, on the Tangir side. The road for 8 kós is difficult, being an ascent of 4 kôs on each side. From Rim to Tangir the road is good, water abundant, and habitations numerous. Kàmi fort has 1,000 houses of Gujars (a shepherd and cowherd tribe that is found following its peaceful occupation, either as settlers or nomads, in the most dangerous districts), and zemindars, who are tributaries to Yasin, paying taxes in gold and kind. There is a direct road from Tangir to Yasin, viâ Satìl—6 kós, plain, with many Gujars, paying their grazing tax in gold; thence over a small peak, Mayiréy, to the plateau of Batrêt, 8 katsha kós. (See second stage of this route.)

FROM BATRÊT TO RÀUSHAN, over a small mountain. Ràushan is a small fort of Yasin, whence there are roads to Yasin, Chitrál, Gilgit, etc. Gold is washed from the Indus, which is 3 katsha kós from Kàmi. The Tangiris are braver than the Dareylis and equally religious, having many Mullas; but the country, although larger, is not so well populated as Dareyl, the people of which are also rather shepherds than hunters. The *Gabár* are the ruling people in Tangir, about 1,000 families, of which 500 are in Kàmi. They are the old proprietors of the country, and are all Shins who *now* have given up their old aversion to the cow, its flesh and milk.

KAMI, over the mountain Tràk, called by the Pathans Chaudunno, which has no snow on the Tangir side, but a snow-covered plateau 1½ kós long on the Kandiá side. Then comes a green plain. To the foot of the mountain Tràk on the Tangir side 11 kos pakka (11 good kós, or nearly 22 miles), over a tree-covered plain. Then over the Tràk pass and plateau, the road goes along a plain which extends for 17 kós to GABRIÁL. There are a great many Gujars along the road. [The road to Yasin is through the Gujar-frequented district of Kuranjá, belonging to Tangir. Multán is the Muqaddam of the Gujars, a brave man.]

GABRIÁL has only 40 houses, but the country of Gabriál generally is studded with habitations. The famous Mullah Habibulla, a relative of Raja Khushwaqtia, is a most influential man among Kohistanis. His tribe is Mullakheyl, and all the Gujars of Kandiá are obedient to him. The Mullakheyl are Shins, but Yashkuns also live there. Yashkuns are the peasantry of Dardistan, including Hunza, and supposed to be aborigines, though some derive the Yashkuns of Hunza from the white Yuechi, or Huns, and others give them a Western origin. They have always been Sunnis. (The Dareylis were formerly Shiahs.) (See detailed account of Gabriál by one of its Maulvis, Mir Abdullah, and of Kandiá or Kiliá,

translated by Dr. G. W. Leitner.) The people of Kandiá are wealthy in flocks, ghi (=clarified butter, exported to Peshawur, 18 to 25 pakka seers for the rupee). It is subject to Yasin. They possess double or Indian rupees and mahmudshahis, some having 10 or 20 thousand rupees. The poorest have 10 to 12 cows, 100 sheep, etc. The greatest among the Gujars intermarry with Yasin chiefs. The Kohistanis are independent, but the Gujârs pay a tribute to Yasin. The Samu or Samasi village is 2 kôs from Gabriál. From Gabriál, ½ kôs distant, is a mountain called by the same name, with an ascent of five to six pakka kôs, with excellent water; road only open in summer. A descent of 5 kôs brings one to *Ushu*, a big village of 600 houses inhabited by Bashkaris. (See special account by Dr. Leitner of Bashkar and its language.) The Swat river touches it. The Bashkaris pay a small tribute to Yasin, but are practically independent. They are generally on good terms with the Torwaliks, who were formerly their rulers. The languages of Torwal and Bashkar are different.

FROM USHÙ TO TORWÁL, 13 kôs, very bad, stony road, after Kalám (2 miles from Ushù). Torwál has 200 houses. They are not so rich as the people of Kandiá and Jalkôt.

FROM TORWÁL TO BRANIHÁL, the frontier of Torwál, 12 to 13 kôs, a bad stony road, 600 houses and a Bazár in which there are 5 or 6 Hindu merchants. [The Hindu traders are not molested in Yaghistán ("the wild land" as Dardistán, the country between Kabul and Kashmir is often called), because no one is afraid of them; whereas if a Sahib (English man) came, people would be afraid.] There are many wealthy people in Branihál, which may be considered to be the capital of Torwál.

BRANIHÁL TO SWAT, a plain; at only 1½ kôs is Shagrám, composed of 3 villages, under the children of the Sayad (descendant of the prophet Muhammad), Pir Bâba. The three villages are inhabited by Sayads and contain 500 houses. Then to Tiráh (1 mile, a plain), where the Mians or Akhunkheyls live (300 houses).

TIRÁH TO LANDÉY, 1 kôs pakka, a Patán village, in which rice grows, beginning from Branihál; Landéy to Lalkún (a small village away from the big road to Hoti Murdan) 5 kôs, a plain. Thence Fazil banda, 12 kôs, a plain; thence to a mountain, Barkànn, 12 kôs, a plain, leaving the Swat for the Dir territory. Jarughey (hamlet of Gujars) is the halting-place. From Jarughey into the Dara of Ushuréy, in Yaghistan proper; it is the home of the Khan of Dīr, and is inhabited by the Panda Kheyl tribe. Halt at Jàbar, a village 14 kôs from Jarughey, a fairly inhabited road. From Jàbar to Maidán (16 kôs) by the mountain Káir Dara, and passing the fort Bībiól (100 houses) a fort of the Khan of Dīr. The mountain is high. Maidán fort and Bazar, and Bandey fort (500 houses), Kumbár 1 kôs distant, 1,000 houses, of Mīans, and Bazar with many Hindus. Thence to Bandey Mayár, a great Bazár, and a renowned Ziáret (shrine), and Langar (almshouse) of Saukanó Mīán, a village of Peshawar, are 2,000 or 3,000 houses, belonging to Jandūl. It is 14 kôs distant from Maidán, over an inhabited plain. Umr Khan, the ruler, has 240 excellent horsemen, 3,000 infantry, fights with Dīr, who has 500 inferior horses

and numerous footmen, but not so brave as Jandúl. Terkani is the name of the Jandúl ruler and tribe up to Jellalabad, and Irubsì that of Dīr, Swat, Buneyr, Samè, Pakli, etc. At 1½ kôs of Mayar is Miákil, a big town, of 5,000 houses and a Bazar. Miákil to (Bajaur) Badàm, are Kakazis, of the Mamùnd tribe, for 16 kôs a plain, 400 houses, Yágis (wild); Badàm to *Mureweri*, are 16 kôs, over a small mountain (Mohmands) in Yaghistan, has 1,000 houses. (At Nawagai is a Khan, Ajdar Khan, with 20 horsemen and 3,000 footmen.) At Khàr was another Khán, Dilawar Khan, who fled to Peshawar, his place having been conquered by Ajdar Khan; 100 houses. The place is surrounded by the Tuman-kheyl tribe. On the other side of the river, Kabul rule begins, and opposite is Chagar Sarai, leading to Katár, once a stronghold of Kafirs. Gambir is subject to Kabul, the rest of the Siah Posh being independent; and another road leads to Petsh, which is Yági, or independent.

From Muraweri to Pashùtt, 5 or 6 kós pakka. Below Muraweri, 2 kôs, is Serkanni, where there are 200 Kabul troops. From Pashütt cross stream on jhallas (inflated skins) to Jelalabad, 20 or 22 kôs; whence the road to Kabul is too well known to need even a passing reference.

Uninteresting as rough accounts of itineraries may be to the general reader, they are not without importance to the specialist. My material on the subject of routes to, and through, the Hindu-kush territories is considerable, though necessarily defective. It was mainly collected in 1866-72, when a portion of it was used by that leader of men, General Sir Charles MacGregor. I published a few "routes" at various intervals in the hope of stimulating inquiry, and of eliciting corrections or further information: but Indian official Departments, instead of co-operating, are uncommunicative of the partial, and therefore often misleading, knowledge which they possess, and, above all, jealous of non-official specialists. The First part of my work on Hunza has recently been printed by the Indian Foreign Office; where and when the Second will appear, is doubtful. I think the public have a right to know how matters stand in what was once called "the neutral zone," the region between the Russian and the British spheres of influence in Asia. At any rate, the learned Societies and International Oriental and other Congresses, that, on the strength of the material already published, have done me the honour at various times to apply with but very partial success, to Government on behalf of the elaboration of my material, shall not be deprived of it, though I can only submit it to them in its rough primitive state. The reader of *The Asiatic Quarterly Review* will, I hope, not be deterred by the dulness of "routes" from glancing at material which, in future articles, will include accounts, however rough, of the languages, the history and Governments, the customs, legends, and songs of, perhaps, the most interesting countries and races in Asia. The information, often collected under circumstances of danger, is based on personal knowledge, and on the accounts of natives of position in the countries to be dealt with.

G. W. L.

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS OF 1891.

The following is the substance of an extempore Lecture on
THE ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF ORIENTALISTS,
With special reference to the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, to be held in London in September, 1891, on the basis of the original principles laid down in 1873, which was delivered before the Royal Society of Literature, at 20, Hanover Square, London, by Dr. G. W. Leitner, on Wednesday evening, the 25th February, 1891, Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Q.C., LL.D., G.C.S.G., being in the chair, and in the presence of Members of the Oriental Congress of 1891 (with appendices, bringing up the subject to end of March, 1891).

MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies, and Gentlemen :—

Before reading the general Statement regarding this year's Congress, which we are about to circulate, allow me to reply to a question just put to me by Dr. Macalister as I was entering the room, "So you are going to postpone the Congress to next year?" This statement has appeared in almost all the Monday papers, and is altogether misleading. It is possible that *an* Oriental Congress may be held in 1892; *the* Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists of the Series founded in Paris in 1873, will certainly be held *this* year, in September next, in accordance with the signed requisition of the Founders, and of 400 Orientalists and friends of Oriental Studies in thirty countries. Nor can the *Tenth* Congress of our Series be held in England; for the very first article of the fundamental Statutes declares that the Congress cannot meet two years running in the same country.* The President also of the Congress must be a native of the country in which the Congress is held, in accordance with the regulations and the practice that have hitherto obtained. Both of these qualifications, and others to which I may refer, are wanting in the Congress supposed to be projected for 1892. We, on the contrary, are assembled by virtue of the powers given to us, and to us alone, for a Congress to be held this year and in no other, by the Founders and by the Comité de Permanence International of 1873, which is liable to be revived whenever the interests of the continuation of the cause (of the Congress) requires it,†

* Statuts définitifs adoptés par l'Assemblée internationale (Premier Congrès, Paris, 1873). Article 1er. "Le Congrès ne pourra se réunir deux fois de suite dans le meme pays."

† L'Assemblée, consultée sur la mission du Comité de Permanence, décide que . . . le Président (Baron Textor de Ravisi) pourra, sur l'avis conforme de la Commission administrative (Messrs. Léon de Rosny, M. E. Madier de Montjau, M. Le Vallois), proroger les pouvoirs de ce Comité International tant que les intérêts . . . de la continuation de l'oeuvre pourront le rendre utile." All the men named or alluded to support the Congress of 1891, and no other can be legal. According to Article 18, the three members whose names are in brackets are "membres de droit" of every Congress of the Series: they are with us, and not with the promoters of a Congress in 1892.

as has been deemed to be the case by the 400 Members, to whom reference has been made, in order to maintain the principles of our Republic of Oriental Letters against the threatened monopoly of a few officials and professors.

The following General Statement, which briefly sums up our organization, constitution, and operations, is now given to the public for the first time.

"PROGRAMME OF THE
NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS
(To be held in London in September 1891,
on the basis of the original principles laid down in 1873).

THE above Congress will be held under the Patronage of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and of His Imperial Highness the Archduke Rainer.

The Honorary Presidents are the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, and the Earl of Lytton. The President of the Organizing Committee is Sir Patrick Colquhoun, assisted by Sir James Redhouse, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir George Campbell, Dr. Bellew, and Dr. Leitner as Vice Presidents, the latter of whom is also the Organizing Secretary and the Delegate of the Founders.

The Organizing Committee is composed of representatives of most of the British Universities, of office-holders of various learned bodies, of Professors and of high Indian officials; and among its honorary members are Lord Lawrence, the Austro-Hungarian, Italian, Persian, and Turkish Ambassadors, H. H. the Sultan of Johore and several Indian Princes, from whom, as also from the French, Italian, and other Governments and learned corporations, Delegates will be sent. Many of the older German Scholars will attend this Congress, as will nearly all the French Scholars. The formation of the Sections is proceeding, their Presidents and other office-bearers being elected internationally when the Congress meets. In the meanwhile, the main Founder of these Congresses, Prof. Léon de Rosny, will take charge of the section of 'Buddhism' and perhaps also of that of 'Japanese,' 'Sinology' generally being entrusted to Profs. Schlegel and Cordier, 'Assyriology' to Prof. Oppert, and 'Egyptology' to Prof. Maspero. 'Africa' will no longer be an appendix to 'Egypt,' but is a separate Section. Dato Sri Amar of Johore will be the Secretary of the 'Malayan' Section. The Semitic Sections, including 'Arabic' and 'Mohammadanism,' are especially strong; and for the 'Aryan,' several pandits are coming over from India, to give life to the teaching of our European Sanscritists. 'Dravidian' is in charge of the *facile princeps* of that subject, Dr. G. U. Pope; and 'Central Asia and Dardistan' will receive important communications from Professor Vámbéry, Dr. Bellew, and several recent travellers. Indeed, there is a new Section in this Congress of 'Instruction to Explorers,' which will, it is believed, attract much interest.

Among other special features of this year's Congress* is its very first

* Each Congress of the Series is bound, in the interests of Oriental Studies, to have a special aim in addition to its usual features, in accordance with Article 15 of the Statutes. The special aim of the Congress of 1891 is to show the practical utility of our labours.

Section, that on 'Summaries of Oriental Research since 1886,' which has been entrusted to Prof. Montet, who is in communication with the leading Scholars in each branch; for without such knowledge it is difficult to make a systematic advance in each speciality. Above all will this Congress, following its original principles, not only endeavour to make the existing theoretical studies more thorough, but it will also enter into those questions which are to draw Oriental Studies within the sphere of our education, philosophical thought, and practical life generally, so that, in addition to Sections on 'Comparative Religion, Philosophy, and Law, and Oriental History and Sciences, including the Yunani and the Vaidac systems of Medicine,' we have (*i*) 'Suggestions for the Encouragement of Oriental Studies;' (*q*) 'Oriental Art, Archæology, and Numismatics;' (*r*) 'Relations with Orientals;' (*s*) 'Oriental Linguistics in Commerce, etc.,' with sub-sections regarding the various modern Oriental languages; (*t*) the 'Anthropology, Science, and Products, natural and artificial, of the East,' just as, in connection with Section (*h*), 'Comparative Language,' we have (*p*) 'Ethnographical Philology,' in order to show that a knowledge of customs, history, and the physical surroundings of a people are essential to a thorough study of Philology, which must be supplemented, in order to be useful, by practical linguistics. Dr. Beddoe, Mr. Brabrook, Baron de Baye, M. Cartailhac, and other leading Anthropologists in various countries, will therefore take a special interest in this Congress. Its head-quarters in London are at the Royal Society of Literature, 20 Hanover Square. Its rooms for receptions and general meetings will be the Hall and rooms of the Inner Temple, by kind permission of the Benchers. The German Athenæum has opened its hospitable portals to the visitors, a good many of whom, it is hoped, will be received as guests by English members or friends of the Congress.

A number of Essays and Translations have been invited for the Congress, two of which, the Atharva Veda and the Tafsir-ul-Jelalein, have been taken up, whilst most important communications are expected on subjects connected with original research or discovery. For Oriental Students a Scheme of Examinations has been arranged under European Orientalists and native Oriental Scholars. (See last 'Report of Progress.')

Letters of Papers on subjects to be considered before, or to be discussed at, the Congress, in one or more of the above-mentioned Sections, or at the general meetings, are to be sent to Dr. Leitner, Woking, as are also books for presentation to the Congress, or exhibits for a special Oriental Exhibition, illustrative of the work of the Oriental Congress in its various branches, which is being arranged.

Cards of Membership can be obtained from Dr. Leitner, Woking, to whom the Member's subscription of £1 should now be sent. A reduction of fifty per cent. is being arranged on the French Northern Railway line for all duly inscribed Members travelling from Paris to London for the Congress of 1891.

The adhesion of nearly 400 Orientalists or friends of Oriental studies in thirty countries, in support of the above Congress has been already secured."

We point to this fact as a satisfactory result, considering that this number has never been reached at this early stage, or fully six months before the assembling of the Congress. These four hundred also are not ordinary Members; but they represent an important consensus of opinion in confirmation of certain principles which they consider necessary to uphold, not only in the interests of Oriental learning, but that of general culture. These principles were first laid down in France in 1873, the founder of the Congress being M. Léon de Rosny, the joint-principal of the famous *École des langues orientales vivantes* at Paris, a school of which indeed we ought to have a copy in this country. This gentleman induced the Paris Ethnographical Society, of which he was the President (M. Carnot, the father of the present President of France being the Hon. President), to establish this Congress. It was after the French reverses of 1870. It seemed as if military glory had left France, and it became the wish of eminent Frenchmen to make their country as prominent in learning as it had been in arms. At any rate, a number of Frenchmen joined M. de Rosny in the first instance, M. Madier de Montjau, and M. Le Vallois; and these three men gathered others round them, and, to their great credit be it said, the older German scholars also came forward and were received in the same generous spirit which they themselves showed, in the capital of France; and we had a Congress in 1873 (where I was the delegate of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, or Punjab Association, but took only a very small part in its proceedings) such as has not been equalled since. We had ten kings or rulers of Republics among our ordinary members; but the whole thing was the outcome of private enterprise, supported by private liberality such as that of Mr. Henri Cernuschi, the great financier and bi-metallist, of whom you must have read and heard. 1064 members joined and fifty-three nationalities were represented. These numbers have never been reached since. (See Appendix I.)

The next Congress took place in the following year in London. That was in 1874. There was a great falling off (*Absit omen!*) from 1064 to 310 members. There was an absence of arrangement, and it seemed as if the mere words "private enterprise" had, without the activity of secretaries, not that magic power which we attribute to words wherewith to conjure, such as "British Constitution," "self government," etc. The Congress was managed, or not managed, by the Royal Asiatic Society, and, excepting the value of many of its communications, was a failure. The Universities completely ignored it. It came down to such an extent that the Russian Government, being particularly anxious to encourage Oriental studies in Central Asia, felt that it was impossible to leave Oriental studies in the hands of private individuals, and it then proposed that this Congress be termed, not a Congress of Orientalists, but a Congress of Oriental languages, and that it should be official. On this occasion Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, took a very noble stand, which has had the effect of winning to England the Orientalists of most countries. Alas! that recent experience should not so fully justify the trust reposed in us by our foreign colleagues, but that Englishmen should have been found allying themselves with an attempt to destroy our Republic, after having

given written pledges to maintain it. He pointed out, that, whatever might have been the cause of the small number of members at the English Congress of 1874, the principle of private enterprise was a sound one; that we could not allow any country to take an official or permanent lead in an international organization; that whilst we were glad of the countenance, information, and above all the subscriptions of Governments and of corporations, no one Government or one nation could, as it were, rule an international body of private scholars, or friends of certain studies. Therefore, if the Russian Government wished to form an official Congress of its own, they were wished "God speed," but they would have to go out of the Series, they could not call themselves any longer The *Third* International Congress of Orientalists in the Series, but by some other designation, just as we now say to those of 1892, "You have no right to call yourself The *Ninth* International Congress of Orientalists."

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a very curious thing, but these Oriental studies, which are to give us the placidity of Brahmins, seem almost always to have had the effect of irritating scholars all round; but the harm that has been done has been very small. I do not see that that irritation has in any way injured any one of these Congresses. Those who joined did their best, those who at first "sulked in their tents" joined afterwards, and those who did not join were rather sorry for it, and found after all that it was better to join and have their personal differences out face to face with their literary opponents, than to sulk for the next three or four years at Königsberg or Pesth, or some Siberian University, and launch forth their thunderbolts, sometimes in an unknown language; for one of the peculiarities of some Orientalists is, that they like to enlighten the world in a strange dialect, or address the world in a language of undoubtedly great merit and interest, but of no effect on the scholarship of the world. Therefore we have decided that, although people shall be allowed to talk in whatever language they please, still the four leading languages of the Congress are, first and foremost, the language of the country in which the Congress is held, French, the language of the origin of the Congress, German and Italian. Some have introduced Latin, and are very welcome to it; but it has been found that it was necessary in such instances that they should prefix a little statement of their mode of pronunciation. Well—what happened on the English protest, which I should like to see repeated this year, against monopoly in science? The noble stand taken by Dr. Birch had a remarkable effect on the Russian Government and Russian scholars. They gave in. They said we were entirely in the right, and the concession was made in a most gracious manner. I hold here the bulletins of the St. Petersburg Congress, and before them and their transactions are prefixed the *ipsissima verba* of the Statutes, accompanied by the local regulations avowedly based on them. The principles of these Statutes, as stated by the St. Petersburg President, are sound, though wide and generous, and not, as is mentioned by a correspondent in *The Times* of Monday, last. The main principle is, that all those who take an interest in a subject, whether belonging to an Academical body or not, shall bring to bear their experience and lights on our studies. Other-

wise, our knowledge is worth little, for if it cannot advance the general good in some way or other, I consider that these Congresses would be comparatively useless. The great spirit that presided over the formation of these Congresses, was the spirit of perfect liberty, of the generous admission, as it were, into Academic Councils, not only of those who have hitherto mostly advanced a speciality, but also of outsiders, because if we had only to speak to "insiders" we should very often, in a branch of the utmost importance, have to address empty benches, or a single man, or perhaps, like Dr. Hunter, speaking to his assistant, ask him to take down the skeleton and sit opposite to him, so that he might, at least, address them as "Gentlemen."

No; Oriental learning is worth saving, not because it gives a reputation to some of its Professors, in whose hands the living East is killed, so that a conjectural East may be evolved by them; but because, when its treasures are revealed, as they will be if the process of Europeanizing the East is retarded, every branch of thought or action will be benefited, and every thinking man or woman will derive comfort or instruction from the invaluable lessons of its Philosophy, so near to nature and to truth, and so necessary as a counterpoise to our artificial social life Its art-industry, if revived, would indeed be a joy for ever. Its languages suggest and beautify thought; in education and even in every branch of science, much that has been thought to be an European conquest, has been anticipated, tested, and often dismissed by scholars and statesmen, who have had centuries of culture to our lustres of civilization. Even their medical systems can be studied with the greatest advantage: some of their family systems are models of a perfect social condition, and such quasi-conjectural science as famine indicated by sun spots, and living organisms as causes of disease are among the minor acquisitions of the ignored scientific possessions of the East.

The Russians not only gave in graciously, but the Russian Government also bore absolutely all the expenses; and they brought a most interesting collection of men and things from various parts of their own possessions—an exhibition of men and also of native Oriental scholarship, which only one other country in the world can rival, and perhaps surpass, and that is England; and we do not know whether it will not be possible with your assistance, -Members of the Royal Society of Literature, the Anthropological Society, and the Societies that have joined as bodies,—to obtain in this country a similar result. To Great Britain, of course, the special feature of the Congress of 1891 is infinitely more important than was to Russia that of 1876; but whether the Government, Parliament, the City Guilds, the Chambers of Commerce, and the leading educational institutions will do anything, yet remains to be seen.

Ladies also were introduced as speakers at the St. Petersburg Congress. This was not done at the fourth, the Florence Congress, in 1878, which was an extremely close body, where I had the honour of representing the Government of India. Its Patron was the King of Italy, represented by his brother, the Duke d'Aosta. There, most foolishly, in my humble opinion, ladies were excluded, because we know the remarkable scholarship of ladies like Miss Amelia Edwards and others, whose elimination

from scientific communications of the results of their researches would be a downright misfortune. However, I think that mistake was rectified. Berlin, in 1881, also was a close Congress—a very good one, but extremely dull. Then Leyden, in 1883, where several of the gentlemen present to-night attended, was an extremely good Congress. That Congress also enjoyed no particular patronage, and was, indeed, a reassertion of the simplicity of our literary Republic.

We then come to the Vienna Congress of 1886. The Vienna Congress was under the admirable man whose name I have mentioned—Archduke Rainer, but it wavered between a private and an official Congress, until at last we came to Stockholm in 1889. There we were treated to great surprises. Here was an enthusiastic population, that hailed in us rather Orientals than Orientalists, and I think were surprised at not finding us, whom their concourse besieged at every step, accompanied by elephants. camels, and other things associated with the glorious East.

The sum of £50,000 was said to have been lavished on us by a most generous King, who told us to listen to the murmur of the interminable forests of the North. Every hour almost was consecrated to hospitality; and the libations to Bacchus far exceeded the offerings to Minerva. The impression of our kind reception will ever remain with us; but the impression which we made in return on our labours was infinitesimal. The whole time was wasted in attending royal or other receptions, or in getting ready for them. The consequence was, that nearly all tourists joined, and many commercial travellers became Orientalists; I even noticed that the number of apothecaries and of photographers was great. They were needed. For a subscription of 20 francs for foreigners and 50 Kroner for the poor Swedes (though why they should pay more and entertain us as well, when we had to pay fancy prices at hotels, I never could make out), they sometimes had in champagne alone their money's worth twice a day. For once in my life I saw that Orientalism was a profitable investment to its professors. There were also royal decorations, showered with providential impartiality on the deserving and the undeserving. It is said to be very difficult to escape them in Sweden.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, grateful as we were to the King and to the peoples of Sweden and Norway, we felt that this was not the way to encourage our learning. We felt that when kings gave us the honour either of patronage or of membership, they were on the same footing as others, so far as the Congress was concerned; and that the race for decorations, in which even old philosophers joined, was not one in which one likes to see scholars engaged; and we passed a rule amongst our Resolutions, that none of our members should, as such, accept any decoration or distinction of any kind whatsoever, except such as might be given by his colleagues in the Congress for work done for science and for the Congress. I hope, gentlemen, this Resolution will not frighten anybody away from becoming a member of our Congress, but we felt it necessary to pass it. The tourists, who had been attracted by the extraordinary hospitality of Sweden, were felt to be an incubus; but a still greater incubus was the sacrifice of learning to banquets. In order to eliminate the tourists, it was proposed

that we should admit only Academicians, or found an Institute, with the King of Sweden as its permanent head, composed of forty practically self-elected "immortals," in caricature of the noble French "Institut," to say who were fit to become members of an Oriental Congress. All this is a remedy far worse than the disease which it is supposed to cure. Because without a public what is the use of our learning? Then again, that we should only admit people who had written a book on some Oriental subject. Many of those who have not written books on Oriental subjects know a great deal more of Oriental subjects than those who have. I introduced a real native Hindu Pandit to a leading Sanscritist, who has popularized the researches of others, and he asked him who spoke in Sanscrit, what language it was he spoke. A great Egyptologist once refused to visit Egypt, in order not to unsettle his convictions; but these days are over, even if 1892 should attempt to revive them.

All obstructions to membership are as opposed to our original principles as are improper attractions. The proposal of an Institute through which candidates for our Congresses should filter, was specially met with opposition by the founders, and by a large number of Orientalists throughout the world; and we now meet in 1891 in order to return to the simplicity and work which are alone worthy of students or inquirers.

Our programme you have heard read out in brief outline. You will see that it differs in some respects from the previous programmes. Whilst based on the principle which has guided, or ought to have guided, these Congresses, we have availed ourselves of that generous latitude as regards local regulations, to which the St. Petersburg President referred, and we have brought practical subjects within our ken in compliance with Article 15 of the Statutes.

I think that I have very much abused your kind indulgence in keeping you so long with remarks which have not been prepared with sufficient care to meet the importance and dignity of the occasion of addressing you under the auspices of the Royal Society of Literature—mark you, of "Literature," including Oriental Literature, not merely English Literature; but I sincerely trust that, with the help of your President and of several of the members whom I see here, and with the kind and generous sympathy of you all, any deficiencies may be supplied by the practical sense of the Congress of 1891, in the various directions which I have ventured to indicate in the sketch of the "programme" which I have submitted to your consideration. (Great applause.)

Discussion.

Mr. BRABROOK remarked that there appeared to him three reasons for expecting that the Congress of 1891 would be a great success. The first was, that there was a wholesome rivalry in existence; and nothing stirred up people to action more than a little rivalry. There was another Congress announced to be held in 1892, which also called itself the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists; but it could only be *an* Oriental Congress. The second reason was, the absolute legality with which the arrangements for the Congress of 1891 had been made. The original

constitution of these Congresses had been unfortunately broken through in Stockholm; and Dr. Leitner had had wonderful success in restoring the Congress to legal and constitutional action. The third was, that Dr. Leitner was the Organizing Secretary.

The promoters of the Congress of 1892 had stated that their Congress was precisely the same as that for which Dr. Leitner had laboured, with the slight difference that the name of Dr. Leitner "no longer appears in connexion with it." To the speaker's mind, that made all the difference between success and failure. He wished success to the Congress of 1892, but the course that had been adopted was not the way to ensure it. He remembered the former London Congress, which produced many valuable papers and an excellent volume of proceedings, and trusted that the Congress of 1891 would be even more fruitful in good results.

Observations of the President of the Royal Society of Literature on Dr. Leitner's Exposition of the Oriental Congress of 1891.

Dr. Leitner's explanation of the objects of the Oriental Congress which is to meet in London on the 1st to 10th Sept. was so lucid, that I have little to add and nothing to amend. I wish the Congress had selected as President of the Organizing Committee some one of higher social rank than myself, who possess nothing beyond some "shreds and patches" of general scholarship; but it is not to this slender foundation I owe the honour thus conferred on me, but to a certain limited knowledge of four of the languages the most needful to put the President in communication with those distinguished scholars who we expect will favour us with their presence on that auspicious occasion.

In bygone days, Latin was the general language used on similar occasions, but I fear it's day is past, and I should appear rococo were I to venture on the revival of that *corpus mortuum;* German, French, Italian, and English have superseded their more classical predecessor, and Greek for such a purpose would, though a living language, be inappropriate.

Dr. Leitner has told you that the object of these Congresses is to draw from all parts of the civilized world, for the interchange of ideas and communication of discoveries, all that appertains to Oriental literature, art, or science—to fight out moot questions with the ardour of which learned men are alone capable, and to cling with tough pertinacity to their own opinions, any proof to the contrary notwithstanding. We must all admit, however combative our disposition, that nothing contributes to the extraction of truth like free discussion, and that we must hope will elicit results profitable to the cause of learning. With so many nationalities, we must expect a Babel of languages, but I trust unalloyed by a Babel of ideas. Let us hope it will be rather a day of Pentecost than a Tower in Chaldæa!

Of one thing we may rest assured, that we shall have a respite from politics; for literature has no politics, it is cosmopolitan in the strictest sense, and therefore it has also no nationality. It has no rank, for its nobility is graduated by information and learning, and the most learned is the king, and his crown is bestowed by the consensus of those most capable

of judging of his merits—a crown of laurel, not a circlet of gold. At the Congress we shall all strive to attain this Chrisma. Many have been called, but only one can be chosen, and no one will envy him the distinction to which he will have attained, and enthroned in the words of the Doctorate—"Do tibi hunc librum, testimonium doctrinæ, Hanc cathedram cum venia docendi, Hunc pileum coronam honoris, cum Osculo pacis te recepimus, et creo et nomino te equitem auratum."

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P., in proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. Leitner, pointed out the extreme national importance of his work, and thought that Parliament should vote half a million in support of his Oriental Congress. Dr. Phéné seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried unanimously with acclamation.

Dr. LEITNER, in reply, said that he only accepted the vote as sharing it with the President and with his colleagues, Dr. Bellew, Mr. Irvine, Mr. Brabrook, and others who were present. As for 1892, the Oxford men, with the exception of four, were not likely to join it. He had often suggested an Oriental Association in England, to be held annually as was the British Association; but the principles of the 1892 Congress were more elastic than its programme (see Appendix II.) and scarcely formed a basis for a permanent national institution, whilst it could never be a substitute for an International Congress. As for the remarks of Mr. Henniker Heaton, if his eloquence, public spirit, and his proved persistence in a good cause could induce the common sense of the British Government or of the public to give, not half a million pounds, but only £50,000, or even £5,000, to the "practical" side of the Congress, which brought over specialists to England to place the results of sometimes the research of a life at our disposal, this country would be benefited a hundredfold; but he feared that even a subsidy of £500 would not be forthcoming in aid of so important a cause. Indeed, the convenient excuse for its neglect of duty to Oriental interests might be made by Government that, as there were to be two Congresses, the one for 1891, which alone dealt with the East practically, should not be aided, and that of 1892, being theoretical, needed no aid. (Laughter.) He had, within his comparatively short experience since 1858 (thirty-two years) known millions of money and thousands of lives sacrificed for want of linguistic knowledge in our agents, many Oriental Art-Industries destroyed for want of the timely aid by Government of a few rupees, the recovery of the secrets of which would cheerfully be paid for a thousandfold by British manufacturers; and, above all, he had proved that the process of Europeanizing Orientals impoverished them without enriching us, and had crippled their mental powers instead of making them the best, if not the only, interpreters of the inexhaustible treasures of every domain of thought, and even of science, which was embedded in ancient Oriental Literature, rather between, than in, the lines, some of the traditional revealers of which, such as the old Pandits, we were killing by neglect in order to waste thousands in jobs on a mere edition, not even a translation, of one of their sacred books, by one only speculatively acquainted with the language in which it was delivered. As for the legal position to which Mr. Brabrook had referred, Appendix III. would summarize the necessary points in support of that view. In the meanwhile, the President and meeting would be glad to hear that a card had reached him from Mr. Léon de Rosny containing the following encouraging words:

"Nous approuverons tout ce que vous ferez dans l'intérêt de nos études, et je vous donne tous les pouvoirs pour voter en mon nom, dans les séances de votre comité."

The Comité de Permanence and the founders generally, as represented in the French National Committee had also passed the following Resolution on the 4th November last, when asked about 1891 or 1892—not a mere difference of years, but of principles and programme.

RESOLUTION OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

"The Committee expresses its profound gratitude to the new President, Sir Patrick Colquhoun, and to the other new members, as also to the old members who have worked from the beginning to ensure the success of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists. The Committee confirms Dr. Leitner in his capacity of organizing delegate of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists; congratulates him on his persistent activity, which has already united 350 signatories, and on the devotion which he has brought to bear on the accomplishment of his task, and in the struggle which he maintains in order to defend the liberty of science and the independence of

scholars. "It begs him to take no notice of sterile discussions, and concentrate his efforts towards the Congress meeting at the place origi ally fixed—namely, in London, in 1891."

Oriental studies properly pursued and not strangled by those of its professors who not know, or care for, the living East, could be a source of health, happiness, a wisdom to artificial Europe, to which "wealth" would then be added as an accessory, i an essential, and without that struggle which destroys the seeker in the search. (Cheer

APPENDIX I.

SUMMARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF ORIENTALISTS SINCE THEIR FOUNDATION IN 1873.

No.	Place	Year.	No. of Members.	No. of Nationalities represented.	Remarks.
1st.	Paris... ...	1873	1,064 (including 35 Germans)	53	Paid its expenses, and had over 18,000 francs left for publications.
2nd.	London ...	1874	310	28	
3rd.	St. Petersburg	1876	511	16	Only one German and one Italian attended. The United States and North European States were unrepresented, not counting nationalities under Russian rule.
4th.	Florence ...	1878	127 (present)	13	A proportionately larger number of specialists than at the Russian Congress.
5th.	Berlin ...	1881	290	19	
6th.	Leyden ...	1883	454	20	
7th.	Vienna ...	1886	424	24	
8th.	Stockholm-Christiania	1889	713	27	Mostly tourists.
9th.	London ...	1891	Already 400	Already 3c.	

APPENDIX II.

THE BASIS OF THE STATUTORY NINTH CONGRESS OF 1891.

(*a*) Circular letter dated Paris, 10th October, 1889, signed by 400 members in 30 countries, protesting against the Eighth Congress for excluding England, France, Russia, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and other countries from its Committee, voting for Paris or London as the place for next Congress, "en 1890, ou au plus tard en 1891." "Le récent Congrès n'ayant pas choisi le siége du prochain Congrès, le droit de faire ce choix doit revenir au Comité fondateur de Paris." The special aim of the 1891 Congress is therein stated to be, to draw up summaries of research in different Oriental specialities since the Vienna Congress, so little having been done at Stockholm-Christiania, and to make suggestions for the promotion of Oriental studies both in the East, where they are beginning to be neglected, and in Europe, where they should enter into scientific education and into practical life. This is fulfilled by the 1891 Programme, and upset by that of 1892.

(*b*) Appeal, dated Woking, 18th November, 1889, to the French founders by Dr. Leitner, and supported by several Delegates, against the irregularities of Stockholm, against the scheme of an official Institute as opposed to an open Congress, and against any unauthorized modification of the Statutes or departure from the original principles. The reply of two out of the three first founders approving of Dr. Leitner's statement.

(*c*) Resolution of the Founders and of the survivors of the Comité de Permanence of 1873, ratifying the election by the International Assembly of Orientalists (the Signatories of the Paris Circular) of the English Committee of organization at a meeting of the French Signatories, convened by Baron Textor de Ravisi on March 31, 1890, at Paris.

Résolution.

"Les signataires de la protestation contre les agissements du Comité qui s'est nommé à la fin du Congrès de Christiania, déclarent nulles et contraires aux Statuts toutes les résolutions prises à cette occasion; reconnaissent, au contraire, la légalité du Comité anglais de Londres, lui en donnent acte et s'en remettent à lui du soin de convoquer le prochain Congrès à Londres en 1891."

(*d*) The Resolution passed by the French National Committee. (See page 10.)

Since the above Lecture was delivered, the following confirmation of the legal position of the Congress of 1891 has been received:—

At a Meeting of the French National Committee (including the Representatives of the Commission administrative of 1873, and of the Comité de Permanence) held at Paris on the 14th March, 1891, at the rooms of the Société littéraire internationale, the following Resolution was passed:—

(*e*) "Le Comité National français déclare n'avoir donné à personne autre qu'à M. le Dr. Leitner les pouvoirs nécessaires pour constituer un Comité d'organisation du 9^{ième} Congrès international des Orientalistes, il dément toutes les assertions contraires et invite M. le Dr. Leitner à hâter autant que possible les préparatifs du IX. Congrès pour qu'il soit tenu à la date et à l'endroit déjà marqué (Septembre, 1891, à Londres)."

At a meeting of the Commission Administrative of 1873, and of the Comité de Permanence held at the Faubourg Montmartre, Paris, on the 11th March, the following proposal, drafted by Baron Textor de Ravisi, President of the Comité in question, approved by M. E. Madier de Montjau, Founder and Secretary-General, and largely signed, was ordered to be published:

(*f*) "Les Membres du Comité de Permanence et de la Commission Administrative du 1er Congrès International des Orientalistes (Paris, 1873), déclarent que la circulaire du 9 Février, signée par Messieurs Douglas, Hewitt, Bullinger et MacDonnell, est au moins très-incorrecte, surtout en ce qui concerne les assertions suivantes, savoir: que la Commission Administrative eût donné ses pouvoirs au Comité présidé par M. Max Müller, et que la date du 9ème Congrès international des Orientalistes eût été changée de 1891 à 1892.

"Le seul comité qui a été légalement constitué et auquel il a été délégué les pouvoirs de faire le 9ème Congrès (Londres, 1891) est celui qui est présidé par Sir P. Colquhoun et après duquel M. le Docteur Leitner est et reste notre Délégué-Secrétaire organisateur."

APPENDIX III.

Transfer of Powers.

Transfer of powers on the same date from the Founders and Permanent Committee as also representatives of the French National Committee, nominated by them, to the English Organizing Committee for 1891 and 1891 only.

Nous avons l'honneur de vous informer que le 9^{e} Congrès International des Orientalistes se réunira à Londres du 1 au 10 Septembre, 1891.

Les huit Congrès précédents se sont réunis à Paris (1873), Londres (1874), St. Pétersbourg (1876), *Florence* (1878), Berlin (1881), Leyde (1884), Vienne (1886), Stockholm-Christiania (1889).

Le lieu de réunion du 9^{e} Congrès n'ayant pas été désigné à Stockholm Christiania, le devoir de désigner le lieu de la prochaine assemblée revenait de droit à Paris.

Les Membres fondateurs du Congrès de Paris ont transmis régulièrement leurs pouvoirs au Comité de Londres.

Le prix de la cotisation est de 25 francs. On peut souscrire chez M. Leroux, Libraire, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.

H. Cordier,	Le Vallois,	Cte. Dilhan,	Croizier,	Rosny,
L. Cahun,	J. Oppert,	E. M. de Montjau,	J. Hamy,	Leitner,
Ravisi,	Ziélinski,	A. Albouy,	C. Lucas.	

APPENDIX IV.

RESOLUTIONS OF MEETING IN LONDON ON JANUARY 15TH, 1890.

A meeting of English representatives of the International Assembly of Orientalists, then consisting of 157 Signatories of the Circular dated Paris, the 10th of October, 1889, was held at the German Athenæum, in London, on Wednesday, the 15th January, 1890, at which the following resolutions were accepted:—

1. "That the Signatories express their grateful appreciation of the most hospitable manner in which Orientalists from all parts of the world have been received by H.M. King Oscar II. and the peoples of Sweden and Norway."

2. "That the original principles of the International Congress of Orientalists, as laid down at its first meeting in Paris, in 1873, in the 'Statuts définitifs adoptés par l'Assemblée Internationale' be maintained in their integrity."

3. "That London be the seat of the next Congress, from the 1st to the 10th September, 1891."

4. "That the subscription be £1, or 25 francs, for every member, native or visitor, lady or gentleman, specialist or other."

5. "That the Committees proposed by the French General Assembly for the various countries (with power to add to their number) be accepted, and that the English Organizing Committee for the next Congress, thus elected, place itself in communication with the above-mentioned Committees, and with Orientalists generally, in order to receive and give early information of the questions to be discussed at the next Congress, to suggest subjects or methods of inquiry to specialists and travellers, to arrange for prize essays and other awards, to summarize the researches made on every field of Oriental learning since 1886, and to propose measures for the cultivation of Oriental studies in various countries as indicated in the enclosed circular."

6. "That no special privileges, or distinctions of any kind be accepted by any member, delegate, or office-holder (as such) of the Congress, except what the Congress itself may confer for services rendered to science, or in furthering the aims of the Congress."

7. "That there be only two banquets, one at the beginning and the other at the end of the Congress, and only two excursions out of London (say to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge) after the conclusion of the labours of the Congress."

8. "That the prize and other awards be, as far as possible, equally distributed among the various branches of Oriental learning."

9. "That the English Committee of Organization be empowered to arrange for grants and donations towards the general or any special objects of the Congress, and to receive the subscriptions of members."

10. "That the English members and others who wish to receive one or more foreign members in their houses during the time that the Congress is held be pleased to communicate the number they can so accommodate to any member of the English Committee, at an early date, for due notification."

APPENDIX V.

COMPARISON OF THE PROGRAMME OF 1891 WITH THOSE OF 1889 AND 1892.

1889 (Stockholm).	1892.
Semitic and Islám.	Semitic, Assyriology, and General.
Aryan.	Aryan.
African, including Egyptology.	Egypt and Africa.
Central Asia and the Far East.	China and the Far East.
Malayan and Polynesian.	Australasia and Oceania.
	Anthropological. Mythological.

1891.

The following are the Sections into which the work of the Congress has been divided, subject to future Classification :—

(*a*) Summaries of Oriental Research since 1886.
(*b*) 1. Semitic languages, except Arabic.
2. Arabic and Muhammadanism.
3. Assyriology.
(*c*) Aryan.
(*d*) Africa, except Egypt.
(*e*) Egyptology.
(*f*) Central Asia and Dardistan.
(*g*) Comparative Religion, Philosophy and Law, and Oriental History and Sciences.
(*h*) Comparative Language.
(*i*) Suggestions for the encouragement of Oriental Studies.
(*j*) Indo-Chinese.
(*k*) Sinology.
(*l*) Japanese.
(*m*) Dravidian.
(*n*) Malayan and Polynesian.
(*o*) Instructions to Explorers, etc.
(*p*) Ethnographical Philology.
(*q*) Oriental Art, Archæology and Numismatics.
(*r*) Relations with Orientals.
(*s*) Oriental Linguistics in Commerce, etc., with sub-sections regarding the various modern Oriental languages.
(*t*) The Anthropology, Science, and Products, natural and artificial, of the East.

In addition to above, the Congress of 1891 asks for Essays on certain practical and technical subjects, invites translations of certain texts for a moderate honorarium, and provides Examinations for Students in various Oriental languages, held under the combined auspices of European Orientalists and native Oriental Scholars.

APPENDIX VI.

The following is the corrected List, up to end of March, 1891, of the Patrons, Hon. Presidents, and Honorary Members of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists to be held in London in September, 1891, as also the List of the President, Vice-Presidents, Members, and other office-holders of the Central Organizing Committee, appointed by the Signatories of the Circular dated Paris, 10th October, 1889 :—

The Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists,

To be held in London from the 1st to the 10th September, 1891.

Patrons:

H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught.
H.I.H. Archduke Rainer.

Honorary Presidents:

The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava.
The Earl of Lytton.

Hon. Members:

Lord Lawrence.
H.H. the Sultan of Johore, G.C.S.I.
H.H. the Maharajah of Travancore, G.C.S.I.
H.H. the Raja of Faridkot.
Raja Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I.

President of the Organizing and Reception Committees:
Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Q.C., LL.D., G.C.S.G., President of the Royal Society of Literature.

Vice-Presidents:

Sir James Redhouse, K.G.M.G., D.Lit.
* Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.
Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., M.P. (hon.).
* W. H. Bellew, Esq., M.D., C.S.I. (Surgeon-General Bengal Army, retired).
* Prof. G. W. Leitner, LL.D., Ph.D., D.O.L., Principal of the Oriental Institute, Woking, Organizing Secretary and Delegate-General.

Members of Committee:

His Exc. Count Deym (hon.).
His Exc. Count Tornielli-Brusati (hon.).
His Exc. Rustam Pasha (hon.).
His Exc. Mirza Muhammad Ali.
Sir A. C. Lyall, K.C.B., K.C.I.E. (hon.).
Rev. Prof. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., etc.
W. Simpson, Esq., F.R.G.S.
Hyde Clarke, Esq., Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society, etc., Assistant Delegate General.
Sir R. Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., M.A., M.P.
Sir Richard Meade, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
E. Ransom, Esq., M.R.A.S.
Rev. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D.
R. Morris, Esq., M.A., LL.D., President of the Philological Society of London.
John Beddoe, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., President of the Anthropological Institute.
E. W. Brabrook, Esq., Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute.
* The Rev. G. R. Badenoch, LL.D.
Rev. Canon Isaac Taylor, D.D.
The Rev. Principal W. D. Geddes, LL.D., Vice-Chancellor Aberdeen Univ. (hon.).
Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
* R. A. Sterndale, Esq., Assistant Sec.
Major R. Poore.
C. H. Stephens, Esq., M.P.
Israel Davis, Esq.
Rai B. K. Lahiri.
Prof. T. Witton-Davies.
Dr. Phéné.
Col. H. Fishwick.
Gen. T. G. R. Forlong.
W. Irvine, Esq.
H. H. Risley, Esq., B.C.S.
Prof. I. Platts.
H. H. Howorth, Esq., M.P.
The Rev. Dr. H. Adler.
J. Stuart Glennie, Esq.
A. Cates, Esq.
H. Baynes, Esq.
General T. Dennehy, C.I.E.
Rev. Prof. D. L. Adams, D.D., Edin. Univ.
Gen. Sir C. Dickson.
Walter de Grey Birch, Esq.
Baron G. de Reuter.
The Rev. Prof. J. Birrell, D.D., University of St. Andrew's (hon. delegate).
The Rev. Prof. J. Robertson, D.D., University of Glasgow (hon. delegate).

* Also a member of the Reception Committee. (*Secretary:* Colonel J. Britten.)

Sections (in course of formation). The above and the Rev. W. M. Jones, D.D.; the Rev. H. Gollancz; Professor O. Whitehouse, M.A.; Professor E. J. Evans, Ph.D.; Professor J. T. Marshall, M.A.; Rev. Professor Simmons; Rev. Dr. Baronian.

Local Committees are being organized at Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, etc.

Delegates.—*Austria-Hungary:* Prof. Dr. A. Ludwig, Prof. Dr. Max Grunert, Professor Dr. P. Steininger, Professor Dr. Arminius Vambéry. *Belgium:* Professor Monseur, Professor C. H. Michel, Professor Van den Gheyn. *China:* General Tcheng-Ki-Tong. *Denmark:* Professor V. Fausböll. *Egypt:* Yakub Artin Pasha, Sheikh Hamza Fathullah. *Finland:* Dr. J. N. Reuter. *Germany:* the Rev. Professor Dr. Kaulen, Professor Dr. F. von Spiegel, Dr. H. H. von Bieguer, and Dr. J. Rauler. *Greece:* Dr. D. Melessinos, Professor Caroudis, and Chevalier Valaority. *Holland:* Professor G. Schlegel. Mr. J. Meyer. *India:* Bombay: Dr. Gerson da Cunha; Madras: J. D. Rees, Esq.; Bengal: H. H. Risley, Esq., B.C.S. *Italy:* H. E. Senator R. Bonghi, Professors G. Gorresio, C. Puini, G. Turrini, G. Cora, V. Grossi, A. Severini. *Japan:* Dr. J. Inouye. *Poland:* Dr. Karlowitz. *Portugal:* Professor G. de Vasconcellos Abreu and Professor G. Vianna: *Roumania:* Professor Hazdeu. *Russia:* Professor G. de Esoff, Professor A. Tsagarelli, Dr. S. Gottwald. *Spain:* Professor Delfin Donadiu, Professor D. F. Simonet, and Dr. G. C. Naranyo de Palmas. *Sweden:* Professor Skarstedt and Rector Malmström. *Switzerland:* Professor E. Montet. *United States of America:* Prof. S. J. Hatfield, Dr. S. B. Platner.

(All foreign Delegates are *ex-officio* Members of the above International Organizing Committee.)

All office-holders formally vacate on the assembling of the Congress.

THE FRENCH NATIONAL COMMITTEE:

President: Prof. J. Oppert.

Vice-Presidents: Prof. G. Maspero, The Marquis de Croizier.

Secretaries: M. Dutilh de la Tuque, M. Ollivier M. Beauregard, M. le Baron J. de Baye, M. E. Gibert. COMITÉ DE PERMANENCE: *President:* Baron Textor de Ravisi. *Founder and Secretary-General:* M. E. Madier de Montjau.

The following Declaration is issued by the Organizing Committee for the Statutory NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, *to be held in September*, 1891.

LONDON OFFICES: ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE,
20, HANOVER SQUARE, W., *23rd March*, 1891.

WE have just seen a circular dated the 9th February, 1891, which is issued from the Offices of the Royal Asiatic Society, and signed by Professor Douglas, Mr. J. F. Hewitt, Dr. Bullinger, and Professor A. A. Macdonnell. This circular is practically a copy of one dated 8th December last, against which a protest has already been made.

As these circulars have formed the basis of numerous paragraphs in the public Press, to the effect that the above Congress had been postponed from Sept. 1891 to Sept. 1892, and have in consequence been the cause of much confusion among our members, and of the diversion of subscriptions and other support due or intended for 1891, we feel compelled to give an unqualified denial to any assertion that the above Congress has been so postponed, or that the name of the Delegate from the Founders and Organizing Secretary "no longer appears in connection with the Committee or Secretariat," as asserted in the circulars in question.

We further deny most emphatically that the persons issuing the circular, or whose names appear thereon with their consent, are acting, as they imply, "in accordance with the statutes" laid down in Paris in 1873, when the first International Congress of Orientalists was held, or "with the powers delegated" to the English Organizing Committee, "by the French Committees and in harmony with their Resolutions."

These powers and Resolutions were based on a Declaration of 157 Orientalists, dated Paris, 16th October, 1889, that, owing to the shortcomings of the 8th Congress, held in Stockholm Christiania in September, 1889, the next or "Ninth" Congress should be held in London or Paris "en 1890, ou *au plus tard* en 1891."

This Declaration was followed by an "appeal" to the Founders of these Congresses, dated Woking, 18th November, 1889, which elicited their cordial support and that of several hundred Orientalists representing thirty countries. The appeal was directed against the attempt made by the Christiania Committee, with which Professor Max Müller was identified, to convert our open Republic of Oriental Letters into a close or official oligarchy, an attempt which had once before been made in connexion with the Third Congress, held at St. Petersburg in 1876, and which had been defeated by Dr. Birch, the President of the Second Congress, held in London in 1874.

The nine members, therefore, who, on the 9th October, 1890, elected Prof. Max Müller as President of the Ninth Congress, and fixed its date as 1892, acted *in opposition to what they had themselves signed*, put themselves out of the legally constituted Committee, and have no further right to speak in the name of a Committee of the existing Series of the International Congresses of Orientalists.

Moreover, the Committee for an Oriental Congress to be held in 1892, does not contain the names of the vast majority of members who had been duly appointed for the Ninth Congress; *but it does contain the names of those who have seceded or who have been put on without their previous knowledge or consent.* It does *not* contain the names of the following original members, appointed by the Founders and the Signatories of the above-mentioned Declaration and Appeal:—Dr. G. W. Leitner, the only

duly appointed Organizing Secretary, Sir Lepel H. Griffin, Sir Richard Meade, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Sir Owen T. Burne, Mr. Hyde Clarke, Dr. W. H. Bellew, Mr. E. W. Brabrook, Dr. J. Beddoe, Sir H. C. Rawlinson, Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, Professor Margoliouth, and Dr. G. R. Badenoch, none of whose names appear on the Committee for 1892. That Committee, further, does *not* include the names of Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Sir James Redhouse, Messrs. R. A. Sterndale, C. H. Stephens, M.P., Israel Davis, Rai B. K. Lahiri, W. Irvine, B.C.S., H. H. Risley, B.C.S., H. H. Howorth, M.P., J. S. Glennie, A. Cates, H. Baynes, Doctors Phéné and H. Adler, Professors Platts and Whitton-Davies, Colonels Poore and Fishwick, and of Generals Forlong and Dennehy, who were duly elected by the written votes of the Signatories, on the 6th October, 1890. The alleged Committee, finally, does *not* include the names of Mr. W. Simpson, the Rev. G. U. Pope, Sir George Campbell, Principal Geddes, Professor Adams, their Excellencies the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Persian Ambassadors, who have been duly elected, nor the distinguished Patrons, Honorary Presidents, and Honorary Members who have consented to honour the Congress of 1891 with their support, and whose names will be found heading the appended List of the Committee for the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists of 1891.

The Committee which desires to hold a Congress in 1892 was formed on the 9th October, 1890. It includes Prof. M. Müller, who, not being a natural born British subject, is ineligible as President according to the Statutes and the invariable practice of former Congresses, Sir G. Birdwood, Professor Douglas, Dr. Bullinger, and Mr. Hewitt, ex-office-holders for 1891, whose proceedings were opposed to the principles of the Declaration of Orientalists, dated Paris, the 10th Oct., 1889, which they signed, Prof. Mahaffy, Mr. T. G. Pinches, Prof. Peterson, Mr. E. Delmar Morgan, and a number of Vice Presidents who have not been elected by the written votes of the Signatory Members. It finally includes, or included, the names of several Members who have protested against its proceedings or the inclusion of their names without their previous knowledge or consent.

Under these circumstances it is obvious that the two Committees are *not* the same, and also that it is not the case, as alleged in the above circulars, that the Committee for 1892 has any statutory powers or position.

The two Committees are further not the same for the following reasons :—

The "powers" and all the original papers are with the 1891 Committee, and in the hands of their legally constituted custodian, Dr. Leitner, who is the only "original Secretary." The so-called "Minute Books" in the hands of the Secretaries of the 1892 Committee, are more or less correct copies of a portion of our original records ; the "Record of Proceedings," to which reference is made in their circular dated 9th February, the cards of membership and other printed documents, entrusted to them, when still office-holders for 1891, by our organizing Secretary, were printed at his expense. Their detention by the Committee of 1892, and that of money obtained by the use of, or reference to, these documents, in spite of our warnings, requires both explanation and justification.

That the Founders of the International Congress of Orientalists, as represented by the French National Committee, do *not* recognise the Congress of 1892 is obvious from the following Resolution of the 4th November, 1890 :—

RESOLUTION OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

"The Committee expresses its profound gratitude to the new President, Sir Patrick Colquhoun, and to the other new members, as also to the old members who have worked from the beginning to ensure the success of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists. The Committee confirms Dr

Leitner in his capacity of organizing delegate of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists; congratulates him on his persistent activity, which has already united 350 signatories, and on the devotion which he has brought to bear on the accomplishment of his task, and in the struggle which he maintains in order to defend the liberty of science and the independence of scholars. It begs him to take no notice of sterile discussions, and to concentrate his efforts towards the Congress meeting at the place originally fixed—namely, in London, in 1891."

Declaration of Members of the Comité de Permanence and of the Commission Administrative of 1873.

"Les Membres du Comité de Permanence et de la Commission administrative du I. Congrès International des Orientalistes (Paris, 1873) déclarent que la circulaire du 9 Février, 1891, signée par Messieurs Douglas, Hewitt, Bullinger et Macdonnell, est au moins très-incorrecte, surtout en ce qui concerne les assertions suivantes, savoir: que la Commission administrative eût donné ses pouvoirs au Comité présidé par M. Max Müller, et que la date du 9^me Congrès international des Orientalistes eût été changée de 1891 à 1892.

Le seul Comité qui a été légalement constitué et auquel il a été délégué les pouvoirs de faire le 9^me Congrès (Londres, 1891), est celui qui est présidé par Sir P. Colquhoun, et auprès duquel Monsieur le Dr. Leitner est et reste notre Délégué Secrétaire organisateur."

The same declaration has been made by the French signatories generally, commencing with the word "déclarent."

At a meeting of the French National Committee (including the representatives of the Commission administrative of 1873 and of the Comité de Permanence), held at Paris on the 14th March, 1891, at the rooms of the Société littéraire internationale, the following resolution was passed:—

"Le Comité National français déclare n'avoir donné à personne autre qu'à M. le Dr. Leitner les pouvoirs nécessaires pour constituer un Comité d'organisation du 9^me Congrès international des Orientalistes, il dément toutes les assertions contraires et invite M. le Dr. Leitner à hâter autant que possible les préparatifs du IX. Congrès pour qu'il soit tenu à la date et à l'endroit déjà marqué (Septembre, 1891, à Londres)."

These Resolutions in themselves render the Committee for 1892 illegal, and should be read in conjunction with another Resolution of the French Committees, to which the Committee of 1892 professes allegiance; viz., that of the 31st March, 1890.

RÉSOLUTION.

"Les signataires de la protestation contre les agissements du Comité qui s'est nommé à la fin du Congrès de Christiania, déclarent nulles et contraires aux Statuts toutes les résolutions prises à cette occasion; reconnaissent, au contraire, la légalité du comité anglais de Londres, lui en donnent acte et s'en remettent à lui du soin de convoquer le prochain Congrès à Londres en 1891."

Yet it is this very Christiania Committee that in the circular from the Royal Asiatic Society's Offices supports the Committee of 1892, and confers on it the powers which it never possessed of holding the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists. It is impossible for the Committee of 1892 to act alike under the powers, which never reached it, of the French Committees, and of those of the Christiania Committee, which the French Resolutions condemn.

We therefore announce that, without in the least opposing the assembling

of AN Oriental Congress in 1892, we forbid the use of the name, organization, and of any portion of the funds of *the* Ninth International Congress of Orientalists for any other purpose than that of 1891; and we are prepared to take all such measures as may be within our power to enforce, if necessary, the rights which the founders and 400 Signatory Members, representing thirty countries, have confided to our care.

On behalf of the Organizing Committee for the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists of 1891.

PATRICK COLQUHOUN, President of the Organizing Committee.
LEPEL GRIFFIN, Vice-President.
H. W. BELLEW, ,,
G. W. LEITNER, Delegate-General and Organizing Secretary.

The following is the Statute regulating the nationality of the President of the Congress for the time being :–

"STATUTS DÉFINITIFS ADOPTÉS PAR L'ASSEMBLÉE INTERNATIONALE (1873).

"*Article* 3.

"A la fin de chaque session, le Congrès désigne* le lieu où devra se tenir la session suivante. Il choisit, en outre, dans le pays désigné, le président de cette session, et, s'il y a lieu, plusieurs savants de la nationalité du président pour le seconder dans son œuvre. Le président élu constituera le Comité central d'organisation de la nouvelle session."

It is obvious from the sentence "plusieurs savants de la nationalité du président," that only a natural-born subject of the country can be the President.

This interpretation has been acted on at all the Congresses that have been held hitherto, viz. :–

Paris, 1873	President, Rosny,	a natural-born	Frenchman.
London, 1874	Birch,	,, ,,	Englishman.
St. Petersburg, 1876	Gregoriev	,, ,,	Russian.
Florence, 1878	Amari	,, ,,	Italian.
Berlin, 1881	Dillmann	,, ,,	German.
Leyden, 1883	Kuenen	,, ,,	Dutchman.
Vienna, 1886	Kremer	,, ,,	Austrian.
Stockholm, 1889	Ehrenheim	,, ,,	Swede.

A more detailed interpretation is given by the programme of the St. Petersburg Congress of 1876, which has several points in common with that of 1891. "En vertu de l'article 3 . . . ils ont constitué un Comité d'Orientalistes *russes.*" . . .

"A l'exception de la moitié des secrétaires, le reste du personnel constituant le *bureau* n'est éligible que parmi les Membres russes du Congrès."

* The last Congress having failed to do so, the right the next meeting reverted to the French Founders.

PROFESSOR A. WEBER AND THE CONGRESS OF 1891.

WITH a want of tact all his own, Professor A. Weber, of Berlin, suggests that no German Orientalist of reputation will attend the Oriental Congress to be held this year. This is certainly not complimentary to the fourteen eminent scholars from Germany who have joined that Congress (being thirteen more than joined the St. Petersburg Congress of 1876), and one of whom, Professor C. Abel, has already delivered two lectures in connection with its introductory work. It may be well to bear in mind that the success of this year's Congress means the destruction of all monopoly in Oriental learning. Professor Weber is the honoured aged teacher of numerous Sanscritists, and when his authority is shaken, that of his school must also suffer. In his encounter with Rajendralala Mitra, he seems to have come off second-best; whilst the criticisms of the great Pandit Guruprasada on Weber's "Indian Literature," sent to the Berlin Oriental Congress by Dr. Leitner, do not appear to have been answered, if they have not been suppressed. The living and learned East, when confronted with Professor Weber, does not always share his opinion, and so we find him abusing native Oriental scholars, and writing tirades against the existence of Muhammadans at the Congress or, indeed, in Europe. In the opinion of Professor Weber, who does not speak a single Oriental language, Dr. Leitner, who speaks twelve, and is an author in six, is only a practical Orientalist. Professor Max Müller has already shown, in his Address to the Royal Asiatic Society, how little a Sanscritist may know of Oriental literature generally, and Professor Weber at the Stockholm Congress three times called for Dr. Leitner's paper on the Hunza language in the Aryan Section, whereas, if anything, it belonged to the Central Asian Section, and, being *sui generis*, as a contribution to ethnographical philology, was, in abstract, heard at a general meeting of that Congress. Chauvinism in Germany hides a multitude of sins; and a German Professor, now-a-days, must above all be a patriot. One of the German delegates for 1891 has been threatened with persecution as a "Landesverräther," or traitor to his country, if he supported the 1891 Congress; but we doubt whether true German scholars, whose reputation Professor Weber can neither make nor mar, will be deterred by his offensive attitude from either obtaining or giving information on subjects of Oriental research, whether at the Congress of 1891 or that of 1892. Nor have Governments or learned Societies anything to do with the intramural quarrels of Orientalists. They have merely to judge by the programme whether it offers a reasonable prospect of the furtherance of the studies in which they are interested; and, if there be such prospect, to give it their support, irrespective of politics or personal prejudices. The French Government, for instance, will not imitate German Chauvinism, but will strongly support the Congress of 1891, in consequence of the practical utility of its programme; and we doubt whether English Orientalists will tolerate that a German Professor, though the reputation of some of them may depend on him, should drive Orientalists away from a Congress

to be held in England. How Weber introduces politics or personal prejudice into Oriental philology may be seen from his account of the last Oriental Congress, published in the Berlin *National Zeitung*, of the 19th September, 1889. "The manner of public delivery, equally common to all Orientals, of a nasal, plaintive cadence, which here and there reminds one of the mewing of a cat." "Not a trace of scientific or historical substance, at least so far as the languages of Islam are concerned." "The native Oriental cannot digest . appreciation. . The innate arrogance . of these people . is beyond belief. . They look on themselves as the only expert and wise. Therefore, it is positively dangerous for any European Government, which has Orientals as subjects, if they are anywhere honoured in such a way as to nourish that arrogance. . All Islamic nations should, as soon as possible, come under the tutelage of European Governments. Let utterly corrupt Persia be swallowed, skin and hair, by Russia. There, as in Central Asia, the people of the white Czar have a noble mission. . In Constantinople, however, *we* do *not want* the Russians, . it should be placed under the Italian sceptre. . Away with modern Islam, at least out of Europe, as a power ruling over Christian subjects. . These were the thoughts forced on many who did not understand the Arabic-Persian Turkish sing-song. . There was not a vestige of true intelligence in all these Muhammadan faces, in spite of all the cunning which was imprinted on them. . For the other (non-Oriental) members of the Congress, however, it was decidedly a painful feeling to find themselves put on a level with men who, from a scientific point of view, were mere nullities, with the exception of the delegate of the Gaikwar of Baroda." No comment is needed on the bad taste of these and similar passages; but we deny the facts. There was much, very much, for Professor Weber and his co-president of the Aryan Section (Prof. Max Müller) to learn from these Oriental scholars; and we hope that they will both live to see how little they know of the true East and its learning, when its indigenous Professors teach them at the Congress of 1891 how to pronounce, how to read, and how to interpret Sanscrit.

The letter recently published by Professor Weber in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and incorrectly as also malevolently translated in the *Homeward* and *Allen's Indian Mails*, is such a mixture of truth and falsehood as to challenge comparison with the Professor's original statements, made a few days after the Scandinavian Congress, when he must have remembered it better than he does now. The Congress came to a close on the 12th September, and on the 19th appears the above account by Professor Weber, in which he says nothing, as he does now, of the original rejection of the proposals of Count Landberg to select Cairo or Constantinople as the place of the next Congress, or to establish an Institute to decide on the admission of members to future Congresses; but simply states that Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, and Spain, "also Constantinople, Cairo, indeed, even India and America (Washington), were talked of." He then mentions that "a sort of Convent (College) of Seniors composed of four ex-Presidents (this should be "three"), of the last four Congresses" was nominated to decide on the locality of the next Congress, and that it also received the mission

to revise the original Statutes of 1873," in fact, to elaborate new regulations for the conduct of business, to be submitted to the next Congress, which will have "to decide on the further personal composition of the College of Seniors," a close and permanent oligarchy in our open Republic of Oriental letters. "On the proposal of Professor Max Müller, this Committee also received the further task to consult how to prevent the flooding of these Congresses by elements foreign to their object." Count Landberg, whom Professor Weber then as much praised as he now condemns, wrote as late as March, 1890, in the Swedish *Dagbladet* in the capacity of General Secretary of the 8th Congress, that Cairo and Constantinople had responded to the proposal of holding the Congress there; that the matter of an Institute only regarded its forty members; that the Statutes of Paris had never been accepted by the four official Congresses (of which there had never been one), and had been declared useless at Christiania; and that he had composed new Statutes, which he had presented to the King of Sweden, and which were valid till the next Congress. It is, therefore, not the case, as now asserted by Professor Weber, that the schemes to have Cairo or Constantinople as the next place of meeting, and of converting the private gatherings of Orientalists into official ones, had been finally abandoned at Christiania. On the contrary, even after the circulation of the Paris Declaration dated 10th October, 1889, these schemes were persevered in, and Weber's own letter of the 19th September, 1889, implies a covert intention to proceed with them.

As for the slights which Professor Oppert and Dr. Leitner are supposed to have received from Count Landberg, the former is quite capable of taking care of himself, whereas the latter refused an offer of recommendation from an influential quarter for a Swedish decoration, though he had rendered services to a Swedish Ethnographical Mission in India, and had been treated with special kindness by King Oscar, because he thought it wrong for him to accept one under the circumstances of the Swedish Congress.

It is also untrue, as stated by Professor Weber, that the protest against the Scandinavian Congress, to which numerous signatures were obtained, only referred to the holding of the next Congress in Cairo or Constantinople. It referred to the whole of the proceedings of that Congress, was not drafted or suggested, or even headed by Professor Oppert, is still obligatory on all its signatories, and was as follows :—

"Nous croyons de notre devoir de réclamer contre la composition du Comité chargé d'organiser le prochain Congrès comme ne comprenant pas de membres appartenant à l'Angleterre, à la Russie, à la France, à l'Italie, au Portugal, à l'Espagne et autres pays qui ont des intérêts en Orient. Le récent Congrès n'ayant pas choisi le siége du prochain Congrès, le droit de faire ce choix doit revenir au Comité fondateur de Paris. Comme il est à craindre qu'une ville plutôt orientale qu'orientaliste soit choisie par l'homme le plus actif de ce Comité organisateur (M. Landberg) pour siége du prochain Congrès, nous avons l'honneur de vous soumettre des considérations qui pourraient vous décider en faveur de Paris ou de Londres comme siége de ce Congrès. . .

"Beaucoup de nos Collègues sont d'avis qu'il est nécessaire de convoquer le prochain Congrès en 1890, où au plus tard en 1891, et ceci dans une ville comme Paris ou Londres, où nous ne serions pas le centre de l'attention et de l'amusement publics comme nous l'étions ailleurs. Le récent Congrès du reste n'a pas résumé les travaux faits en différentes spécialités orientales depuis le Congrès de Vienne ; il n'a pas pris connaissance de recherches de premier ordre et de beaucoup d'ouvrages faits depuis ce temps, il n'a pas suggéré des mesures pratiques pour encourager les études orientales soit en Orient où elles sont négligées soit en Occident où ces études devraient entrer dans l'éducation scientifique et même dans la vie pratique."

This circular, after the 18th November, 1889, was accompanied by an Appeal, signed by various delegates at the last Congress, which enumerated in detail all the irregularities of the Scandinavian gatherings, and the encroachments of the Christiania Committee on the original Constitution, with which Professor Max Müller was identified.

On London, Paris, or Oxford being put to the vote, *on the basis of the above principles*, London and the year 1891 were selected by an overwhelming majority. It is further untrue that, after the surrender of the Christiania Committee, on the 5th June, to Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Hon. President of the Congress of 1891, of which Sir M. E. Grant Duff was President, any letter was sent by the organizing Secretary, Dr. Leitner, to Professors Dillmann and Kuenen which had not their consent. The "courteous" informal letter of the Presidents was partly drafted by him, and the formal reply, the so-called discourteous letter, also received their written approval, and that of all the signatories who wanted peace ; but peace was not the object of Professor Max Müller, a mere popularizer, who, 'tis said, declared he would consider himself degraded to be bracketed with Sir Henry Rawlinson, one of the greatest living original discoverers, and who had failed in getting up a rival Congress, at Oxford, for 1892. He entered into negotiations with Messrs. Birdwood & Douglas, and the result was, after manœuvres too complicated to follow, that Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Grant Duff resigned, and only Dr. Leitner stopped the way to the practical self-election of Professor Max Müller ; for duly elected he could not be, according to the statutes and the whole *raison d'être* of the movement. Messrs. Birdwood & Co. were removed from their offices by a letter dated 25th August, 1890, and signed by twenty-two Presidents or other office-holders of Societies connected with the origin of these Congresses or with the present movement, thus when they, in a secret gathering of nine persons, at the British Museum, removed Dr. Leitner's name from their list, they had themselves already been removed. There, again, Professor Weber is wrong, as he is in calling Dr. Leitner a German, or in describing his labours as being in connexion with Europeanizing Hindus, whereas Dr. Leitner is well known for his efforts in precisely a contrary direction, in founding an Oriental University, and numerous Oriental Institutions. Nor will the Congress of 1891 be a gathering, as asserted, solely of travellers and *dilettanti*, but also of those real Orientalists who can speak the language on which they are authorities.

A neutral but "real" Orientalist replies as follows in the *Berliner Tagblatt* of the 10th instant:—

"The Ninth Congress of Orientalists, which will take place this year in London, is causing an unnecessary commotion. Its opponents want to hold *their* Ninth Congress a year later. . . . Each of the two Congresses will style itself an union of 'real' Orientalists, and stigmatize the other as one of 'travellers and *dilettanti*,' as if it were not perfectly irrelevant to call one set 'real' and the other 'imaginary,' when so often the 'real' are the most imaginary Orientalists. Whoever does not allow the results of recent research to have a bearing, is one who loves darkness rather than light (Dunkelmann), and whoever imagines that he alone is the real representative of science is full of a vain conceit (Dünkelmann). Unfortunately among Philologists many are both; are represented at every Congress, were so two years ago in Scandinavia, and will be so at Congress IX. in London, and at Congress IXA. a year hence. It is not a question of persons, but of new achievements in the domain of inquiry. These achievements were not recognised at the last Congress. Perhaps they will be noticed at this or next year's Congress. Let the two Congresses therefore be held in all peace, and let no pressure be exercised either on Orientalists or on friends of our studies. Attend *both* Congresses, if you so desire. The European equilibrium will not be affected thereby, and there is not the faintest ground for hostilities among Orientalists, if each esteems science and research, even when found in others."

The "*Dagbladet*" of Copenhagen writes as follows on the Max Müller-Landberg Congress:—

"The three Englishmen with whom Leitner had constituted an executive Committee abandoned the cause, and, without giving notice to him, entered into relations with Max Müller. . . Thus the party which was at first one of opposition has changed its programme, and the Max Müller-Landberg party eagerly availed themselves of the chance of allying themselves with that Committee and giving it full powers. The Ninth International Congress will therefore be held in 1892, in London (this being the only point on which the Müller party has yielded)."

The following letter has been addressed to the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society:—

"We, the undersigned Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, have either heard or read with satisfaction the announcement made in its last annual Report, that the Society would impartially send Delegates to the next Oriantal Congresses, whether of 1891 or 1892. It is, therefore, with surprise that we find that the Society may have been exclusively committed to the 1892 Congress by the meeting of its promoters being held at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, by several of our office-holders officially joining that Congress, and by the issue of a circular on its behalf from the offices of the Society.

"We remember that the Honorary Secretary warned us last year against the irregular and unrepresentative Christiania Committee—Professors Dillmann and Kuenen, and M Landberg—which promotes the 1892 Congress, and that he also informed us that the right of fixing the date and place of

the next meeting belonged to the French Founders, who have fixed on London in September, 1891.

"Under these circumstances we call on the President and Council and the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society generally, not to depart from their attitude of benevolent neutrality to both the Congresses, to send Delegates to both, to open its rooms to the meetings of both, and to invite the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society to join either or both of the Congresses, according as their tastes, studies, and the different nature of the programmes of 1891 or of 1892 may direct.

"This seems to us to be the only way in which to keep the Society in the van of Oriental research, and free from all polemics and rivalries. (Signed) P. Colquhoun, Lepel Griffin, G. W. Leitner, H. W. Bellew, Edwin Ransom, J. G. R. Forlong, W. Irvine, E. W. West, D. C. Margoliouth, G. de Reuter, H. P. Babbage, G. de Guiraudon, W. C. Capper."

Professor E. Cordier, the famous Sinologist, has been elected Delegate of the French Geographical Society to the Congress of 1891. M. Ollivier Beauregard will officially represent the Anthropological Society of Paris on that occasion. The Asiatic Society of Paris will, it is understood, depute Professor J. Oppert, President of the "Institut" (French Academy). M. Léon de Rosny and M. E. Madier de Montjau of the Commission administrative of 1873, and Baron Textor de Ravisi, the President of the Comité de Permanence, and several of its members will also be present. Baron J. de Baye has been "delegated" both by the Société des Antiquaires de France and the Académie d'Hippone de Bone. The Société Académique Indo-chinoise will, it is hoped, be represented by its President, the Marquis de Croizier, and the Société d'Ethnographie of Paris, the Academy of Toulouse, the Athenée Oriental, and other Societies that have joined as bodies, will send Delegates. The Oriental Institute of Naples, and its illustrious President have also joined. The Anthropological Society of Vienna have deputed Dr. Wilhelm Hein as their representative to the Congress of 1891.

Among the papers to be communicated to the Oriental Congress of 1891, besides those already mentioned in previous "Reports of Progress," are:—

(*a*) The conclusions of an important work of Captain Malix on the Punico-Lybian inscription of Thugga, and on the Lybian styles of Northern Africa.

(*b*) 1. The History of Malta and its Dependencies; and 2. The Maltese Language, by the Hon. M. A. M. Mizzi.

(*c*) The origin of the Armenian Alphabet, by the Rev. Dr. Baronian.

(*d*) Über den arischen Ursprung der Volksnamen, Χαλδαῖος, und Σύρος, in Kleinasien, by Professor P. Carolides, of Athens, who will also make oral communications (1) regarding the Phrygian inscriptions; (2) concerning the ancient Armenian festival, Bartubaria.

(*e*) Captain Th. G. de Guiraudon, "Essai grammatical sur la Langue des Fulbé (Afrique)." 2. Origin of the word "Berber."

(*f*) Professor J. T. Marshall on the Aramaic Urevangelium.

(*g*) A. M. Guibert on the "Japanese Language and the Bibliography of Japanese Studies."

(*h*) Ethics in Language, by Herbert Baynes, Esq.

Professor L. M. Simmons, of Owen's College, Manchester, has undertaken the translation into English of the famous commentary on the Koran, the Tafsir-ul-Jalalein, for the Congress of 1891.

Sayad Ali Belgrami, former Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad, who is not only a scientific man, but also a rare Arabic and Sanscrit scholar, will translate the Atharva-veda into Hindi.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Afghanistan.

In answer to our inquiry as to the precise facts connected with Cavagnari's murder and the proper policy to be pursued regarding the frontier tribes and Afghanistan, Dr. Bellew has favoured us with the following remarks :—

"With regard to 'the truth about the massacre of Cavagnari,' I can only say that the Commission which was appointed to investigate this matter failed to get any evidence implicating the Amir Yacub Khan as an originator of or accessory to the treachery. In my opinion, it was the result of an accident, owing to the mutinous state of the troops and the defenceless state of the Residency—as regards the Amir's guards; for at Cavagnari's request the Amir's special guard had been removed some days or weeks previously, on the ground that this guard was incompatible with the free access of the people to Cavagnari. Had the Amir's guard been continued at the Residency, the mutinous soldiery could not have approached it without this guard giving the Embassy people full notice of the state of affairs; for this guard was composed of the Amir's clansmen and trusted adherents. They turned off the mutineers when they rushed to the Amir's palace; and they would in all probability have done the same at the Residency; or at all events they would have been able to communicate with their comrades at the Amir's palace, and could have mutually supported each other.

"Unfortunately Cavagnari did not work with the Amir as he might have done; that is to say, he was for taking the first place, as representative of the British Government, and treating Yacub as of secondary importance. This fact had produced much soreness and discontent among the Darbaris, and had rendered Cavagnari unpopular, except to the very small minority who hoped to benefit by adherence to him. I believe that this massacre would not have occurred had the British Envoy been a man of conciliatory disposition and patient temper. The situation, after the destruction of Sher Ali's government and power, was of a peculiarly delicate nature, and for its proper management required steady patience, conciliation, and mutual trust and goodwill; but these requirements, instead of being evoked or fostered by Cavagnari, were one and all conspicuously absent in all his dealings with the Amir. Otherwise how could the rival factions (which Cavagnari himself alludes to in his communications to Government) have possibly originated, or even acquired growth? There is, in my opinion, no doubt that Cavagnari had become very unpopular; and had not this lamentable incident occurred, I believe that a rupture of some other kind was bound to take place as a result of the absence of cordiality between the Envoy and the Amir's Court.

"As regards 'the proper policy to be pursued regarding the frontier tribes and Afghanistan,' I have always advocated their subjugation and

annexation to our Indian Empire, as the only true solution of the question of our peaceable and prosperous tenure of India. Ever since the close of last century, Afghanistan has been a source of anxiety, disturbance, war, and untold expense in the way of diplomatic missions, friendly subsidies, pensions to exiles, and war expenses, the sum total of which must be, I think, nigh seventy or eighty millions sterling. Have we got anything to show as an adequate return for such outlay of money, to say nothing of the misery, loss of life, and ruin of families produced by our long series of years of hostilities and wars against the frontier tribes and Afghans? Had our punitive expeditions into the Pathan hills been followed by annexation and the opening out of the districts as they were successively invaded at intervals of a few years, our proceedings might have proved beneficial; but as the fact stands they produced nothing but misery and destruction to many unoffending people, and not only increased such enmity as previously existed, but aroused more where there were previously no signs of its active existence. What can be more lamentable and discreditable than our proceedings in the several 'Black Mountain' expeditions of the past twenty years or so? Here is a little strip of cis-Indus territory, twenty miles by ten miles, adjoining and properly part of Hazara, against which we have sent three or four, if not four or five, military expeditions, each numerically (to say nothing of armament) superior to the adult male population of the tract, and without the smallest advantageous result either to ourselves or the people we have attacked. The expedition of last year was to all appearance only a hasty march up the hills and down again, with a parting volley and shouts of execration from the hillmen—though I hoped it was to end in the annexation and settlement of the district. I see by the papers that there is to be yet another expedition against the 'Black Mountain' this cold season. Perhaps Government will now see their way to its annexation and settlement in connection with their arrangements in Kashmir, Gilgit, and Chitrál.

"So far as I can understand, the main objection to the annexation and settlement of Afghanistan is on the score of expense, owing to the unproductive condition of most of the country. This is true enough, if we are supposed to take the country and do nothing to develop its productiveness, as during our previous temporary occupations of the country. But I maintain that if we took the country and opened it out by roads, and gave it a settled government, improved its means of irrigation, etc., etc., and above all protected it against a flood of highly-paid European officials, we should soon find that it would pay its own expenses, and be no longer the drain it has been upon the revenues of India, and that without the smallest advantage to India. Whereas, once annexed and settled, the Central Asian question becomes resolved. We should then deal direct with our Russian neighbours, without the middleman who fleeces both of us and is true to neither, as indeed he could not possibly be.

"With our frontier line from Herat to Kabul, including Hazara and all south of Hindu Kush and its western extension to the sources of the Murghab, we should be at our proper limit in Asia, in this quarter at all events. I think it is to be regretted that Government did not annex

Afghanistan as the finale of the last Afghan war; though perhaps the fact of the Russians holding Abdurrahman as a rightful claimant to the throne may be held to be valid reason for giving that claimant a turn at the government of the country. On his death, however, there would be a good opportunity to step in and take over the government; for, after all, Abdurrahman has been established in his position mainly by our support in money and arms and goodwill. There is one question which requires very careful consideration in respect to the government of Afghanistan, and that is the precise nature of its administration for the maintenance of order, peace, and goodwill of the people. But it is one I cannot now enter into, as the details are numerous and require special treatment.

"Our position on the frontier is no longer what it was. The subject cannot be discussed on the old ground of 'masterly inactivity,' for there is now a good deal of activity in that direction on a somewhat defined and preconceived plan, which is more than can be said in regard to our previous operations against Afghanistan. The chief object of my paper on our 'Diplomatic Relations with Afghanistan,' was to point out the evils of a haphazard aggression on a neighbouring power which, by a proper and steadily pursued policy of reciprocity for the safeguarding of national interests, would have been secured as a strong and friendly ally, instead of being turned into an implacable enemy, during the generation at all events that has so severely suffered by our unnecessary, if not unwarranted, and certainly unwise, hostility; and also to draw attention to the fact that, notwithstanding all our self-laudation on the subject, our military proceedings in the country—without a specific policy—have not been attended with the unqualified success we were entitled to expect, in consideration of our superior armament, organization, and resources; and with the object of preparing the authorities to expect far greater difficulties than any our troops have yet had to face in that country, in the event of a European force opposing us in the field there hereafter. For hitherto we have had only the brave but undisciplined, unskilled, and poorly armed natives to deal with; but when science, discipline, enterprise, and arms equal to our own are opposed to us, we shall have quite a different experience."

French Imperial Federation.

MONSIEUR J. GIRARD DE RIALLE, Minister Plenipotentiary, favours us with the following important observations on Sir George Baden Powell's letter on French Imperial Federation which appeared in *The Times* of the 27th of January last:—

"Quant à la coupure du *Times* que vous m'avez fait adresser, je la trouve fort bien rédigée et je n'ai rien à y reprendre. J'attirerai cependant votre attention sur un point qui a échappé à M. G. Baden-Powell et qui a une grande importance, c'est le caractère purement *consultatif* de ce Conseil supérieur des Colonies, qui n'est à aucun point un petit Parlement; les Sénateurs et Députés de nos Colonies n'ont d'ailleurs consenti à s'y rendre qu'à cette condition, les droits de notre Parlement (Sénat et Chambre des Députés) demeurant intacts."

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

Principal Hervey's "Genesis of Federation."

ALLOW me to point out a slight technical error which Mr. Hervey has made in including Egypt in the British Empire: it is not yet an integral part, although I do not suppose we shall ever leave it. I also think Cyprus would rather come under the head of a "Stronghold" than a "Dominion." Heligoland, of course, should be eliminated, and Perim should be added to the list of "Strongholds." As Western Australia has been granted Representative Government, I think it would rather rank as a "State" than a "Protected State" under Mr. Hervey's scheme; but these are mere questions of detail, and do not affect the main outline of his scheme.

Where I distinctly join issue with Mr. Hervey is with regard to Ireland. I do not believe that it will be safe for many years to come to give Ireland the full right of self-government, and consider that it should be rather treated as a "Dominion" at first in the Confederation, and self-government granted by degrees, with eventual admission as a State if the Federation Parliament should afterwards consider it wise to do so; for in the light of the declarations made by both Irish parties, that they intend to demand complete independence, it would be in the highest degree dangerous to give her full rights at first. Ulster might be allowed a local legislature, and to take rank in the Confederation as a State; but I am afraid the day is far distant when it will be possible to give equal privileges to the rest of Ireland.

With regard to Canada, I am afraid Mr. Hervey has very much overrated her military strength, for I do not think it is possible for her to have a Reserve of 655,000 men, as stated on page 32. I regret that I have no means of finding out the truth of this; but it seems to me self-evident that, with a population of about five millions, Canada could not possibly have a military force of nearly three-quarters of a million.

With regard to India, I think his suggestion of a Council of Advice to assist the Federal Minister for Dominions is a good one, with the additional proviso that the Councillors should be selected for a term of five years only, their term to be renewable at the discretion of the Viceroy, who would select the best and most capable men in India, European and native.

It may be possible, as he suggests, to concede a measure of local self-government to the more loyal provinces; but I believe the day is as yet far distant when this can be done with safety, for India does not require the machinery of modern democratic government forced on her, nor indeed, is she fit for it, as is proved by the complete collapse of many of the municipalities. It would, in my opinion, be in the highest degree impolitic to make any announcement of such a change in India, for the "keen-witted Asiatics" would to a certainty misunderstand it. I consider that, like all Asiatics, they prefer a strong autocratic government, which alone they would respect and understand. They require to be governed, and not to be asked to assist in governing themselves by any electoral process, which is utterly distasteful and incomprehensible to them. A Legislative Assembly on the banks of the Hooghly, far from being "a deadly blow to Russian ambition," would, I believe, be its most efficient aid; but, of course, Mr. Hervey could not be expected to understand this.

H. BALDWIN MAY.

Imperial Federation.

Principal M. H. Hervey on "The Latest Phase of Imperial Federation."

Sir,—As one who knows the Australian Colonies well, I would like to offer a few remarks on Mr. Hervey's article in the last number of the Asiatic Quarterly Review.

I would first observe that Mr. Hervey deserves the gratitude of every true Englishman, for having boldly come forward with a definite scheme of Federation, and inviting criticism upon it. I warmly sympathize with his object, and only intend to point out wherein I differ from him in a few of his conclusions, in the hope that full discussion will help forward the scheme.

Mr. Hervey remarks, that at the time of the various war-scares it was very freely debated, "Why should Australia be subjected to these dangers, in the origin of which she had no voice?" I would answer, that Australia is only slightly exposed to dangers while she is an integral part of the British Empire, and that if she were independent she would be exposed to still greater dangers, because she is not yet sufficiently strong to defend herself from any European Power; and that in the event of England being at war, and the Australians hoisting the flag of independence and declaring their neutrality, they would not have the power to make their independence respected, while they would lose the protection of the British fleet. The colonies are enormously rich, and would prove too great a temptation to a belligerent to make a rich haul, for the sack of Melbourne or Sydney alone would pay the expenses of a great war; whereas, while they still remain British possessions, they would, at the utmost, only be exposed to the raids of a few isolated cruisers, for we should be certain to hear of any expedition on a large scale being fitted out for their conquest, and our fleet would intercept and destroy it before it got there. No cruiser would venture to attack the defences of any of the fortified ports; and in the case of an open town, they would probably only fire a few shells if the attempt to levy a contribution were resisted, for they would not dare to expend all their coal and ammunition in bombarding a place, when they would be well aware of the imminent danger of being caught defenceless by a British ship.

In the next place, why does Mr. Hervey so gratuitously assume that the loyalists are a minority in the colonies? I believe they are the majority; for the "Young Australian" party, as they call themselves, is only composed of a few of the young men, who are a very noisy lot, and impose upon people, who imagine that, owing to the noise they make, they must be a large and influential party. All the most respectable newspapers of Australia declare themselves loyal to the British connection.

Further, Mr. Hervey remarks, that "the age of sentiment is as dead as its chivalrous prototype." No doubt there is a disposition in the colonies to get all they can out of the "old country," as they affectionately call England; but the majority of the people are of our own race, and are exceedingly proud of belonging to the Empire, with all its glorious traditions of the past. They like to feel that they have some part in Nelson, Wellington, Shakespeare, Pitt, and other heroes, poets, warriors, and statesmen too numerous to mention; for blood is thicker than water, and must tell in the long run. It may be objected, that the United States are

of our own race, and yet separated from us; but I would answer that it should be the aim of our statesmen to work quietly and unostentatiously for the reunion of the British race all over the world; and I believe that even as a foolish and mischievous Government lost us the United States, so a wise statesmanship ought to be able to bring about their re-entrance into the Empire, or rather the Imperial Britannic Confederation. But we will "leave sentiment out of the question, and estimate the advantages and disadvantages of separation by the simple standard of profit and loss," and I will endeavour to show that, even from this standard, unity would be advantageous.

Mr. Hervey observes that "England's good credit is due to her extensive foreign dominions," etc.; but as none of the colonies contribute towards the interest of the National Debt, English credit would suffer very slightly by their loss, while the credit of the colonies, if they became independent States, would be no better at first than that of a South American Republic.

Further on, he remarks that, "so soon as England's resources were strained to the utmost, the United States would over-run Canada;" but I believe the Canadians would be well able to take care of themselves until we could come to their assistance. Apart from this, the Americans are an essentially pacific nation, and would not allow their rulers to commit them to an unprovoked attack on a friendly Power; and I believe they would be much more likely to give us their warm sympathy, if not their active assistance, in a life-and-death struggle with a European Power; but I very much doubt both their ability and their willingness to shield the Australian colonies from "any land-grabbing European Power" after they had declared their independence, for they have neither an army nor a navy to contend single-handed against any great European Power, and the Australian statesmen are much too shrewd to deceive themselves on this point. If they have any idea of declaring their independence on the outbreak of a European war, it must be because they consider themselves strong enough to protect their independence if attacked, or they believe that their neutrality would be respected; but they have no navy, and the country is as yet too sparsely peopled to enable them to put any considerable force in the field. They would fall an easy prey to either Germany or France, both of which Powers—Germany in New Guinea, and France in New Caledonia—are their near neighbours, deprived as they would be of British protection. But by remaining loyal, they would be relieved of one possible enemy; viz., Germany, for the possibility of England and Germany being found on opposite sides in a European war is too remote a contingency to be taken into account. We have too many interests in common for us to be otherwise than friendly; but if Australians declared their independence, this restraint would be removed.

Mr. Hervey remarks, that if England waits till Australian Federation is accomplished, "she may prepare to erase the name of the great southern continent from the list of her possessions. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* after March, 1891." But I believe that Australian unity would but pave the way for Imperial Federation, and he gives no reason why this should not be so. Holding this belief, I am anxious to see it a *fait accompli*, and see

no reason why there should be any stepping back after March, 1891; but hope it will very shortly lead to further steps forward being taken, until the federation of the whole Empire is completed. Sir Henry Parkes, who will preside over the Federal Convention in Sydney, evidently regards it in this light, as all his speeches plainly show. Indeed, he was opposed to the nomination of Mr. Dibbs, the leader of the New South Wales Opposition, to the Federal Convention, on the ground that his public utterances had been hostile to the federal principle, and in sympathy with independence. Sir Henry is undoubtedly the strongest man in the Convention, and is ably supported by Sir S. W. Griffith, the Queensland Premier, who is by no means in favour of separation from the Empire.

In conclusion, I would note that all my remarks are made in a friendly spirit, and in the hope that discussion will elicit further information and suggestions, out of which a workable plan for the federation of the Empire may be evolved. I am an ardent believer in Imperial Federation, and consider that the time has now come when all those who wish to see England strong and respected abroad, should agitate for a further and large increase to the navy, as the Government have as yet made no provision for any further increase, although we shall not, when the present programme is finished, be as strong as Lord George Hamilton considered we ought to be when he brought in his Naval Defence Bill. There is, therefore, all the more need for pressure from outside, if the Government are to be induced to do their duty; and it is of the utmost importance that our colonists should be convinced of our ability, as well as our willingness, to protect them in case of need; and this can only be done by having an overwhelmingly powerful navy, to convince all who meditate attack on any of our possessions that it would be an exceedingly perilous thing to attempt. In this connection I am very glad that Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds has written a letter to Lord Salisbury, and also to *The Times*, pointing out the perilously weak condition of our navy for the work it would have to perform in case of a war with a European Power, even when the present additions are completed in 1894. I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

COLONIST.

Sir Walter Elliot and the Siege of Kittur.

MR. R. SEWELL's interesting narrative of one of the byways of modern Indian history should be carefully noted and confirmed whilst there is time for any revision required.

One point that I miss in it is the mention of the young officer—Munro, whose name, etc., appears on the obelisk which I have seen at Dharwar, in conjunction with that of St. John Thackeray. This being so, it does seem strange that no mention of Munro should occur in Sir Walter Elliot's notes. It is barely possible that I *may* have mis-remembered the other name on the obelisk beside Thackeray's; but I have not at hand any means of verifying it, and the name of Munro is firmly on my memory up to this time.

Here it may be mentioned that the fine perforated teak windows in the corridors and other parts of the Collector's *katcheri*, at Dharwar were

brought from the Kittur Chief's palace; also, I believe, much of the stone of which the *katcheri* is built. I have seen the ruined fort of Kittur, which presents a somewhat picturesque aspect as one passes on the way towards Belgaum.

As to the now slight political interest of the incident, two remarks are suggested—(*a*) The prolonged delay that occurred in dealing with the question of succession, indicates culpable negligence on the part of the Resident at Poona, or the Government of Bombay. (*b*) The question of adoption is not fully disposed of in Sir W. Elliot's notes: the circumstance of a fictitious deed being produced need not have precluded a proper adoption by the surviving wife, or,—if the customs of the Lingaets permitted,—the choice of some relative of the deceased chief; and as Mountstuart Elphinstone was then Governor, he would have been likely to take one of these courses, had all the circumstances been fully placed before him. By this means the deplorable consequences that ensued, and the waste of three or four valuable lives would have been averted. Possibly the subject of Hindu adoption was not well understood at that time by Indian Civilians. The flagrant disregard of that institution by our men in 1848 to 1856 in the Deccan, was the chief cause of the troubles that afterwards arose.

It is an interesting point, mentioned by Sir W. Elliot, that the Kittur chief was the only one of the Lingaet caste in the Mahratta country. Had the succession been maintained, it would have contributed to that variety in powers and interests, which, when rightly regulated, has served to bind several peoples in due diversity and harmony under impartial British rule.

Since inditing the above note, I find that in Sir William Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol. iv., p. 267), mention is duly made of J. C. Munro as being slain at the same time as Thackeray. He is described as sub-Collector of Sholapur and nephew of Sir Thomas Munro, which makes the omission of his name from Sir Walter Elliot's notes the more remarkable. On the other hand, the *Gazetteer* notice, though it mentions the captivity of the two assistants, does not name Elliot as one of them. However, thanks to *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, this fragment of interesting personal history is now adjusted. The *Gazetteer* dates the founding of the Kittur chieftainship from the invasion of the Bejapur army in the 16th century. After stating that it finally passed into the hands of the British in 1824, it is mentioned that another rising took place in 1829, which was not suppressed without difficulty—an indication, we may take it, that the summary suppression of the little principality was not politically wise. Thornton mentions also "a formidable insurrection in 1832," which was "happily suppressed by the zeal and intrepidity of two patels." He describes Kittur as a town "formerly of great splendour."

Would not St. John Thackeray be an uncle of William Makepeace of that ilk? The recently published biographical notes by Messrs. Merivale and Marzials, though abounding with interesting details, do not afford any specific answer to this question. The novelist's father, Richmond Thackeray, was one of a family of twelve—of whom no other name is

mentioned. He died at Calcutta in or near 1816, when only thirty-one — the son being then five years old. Hence the Thackeray who fell at Kittur in 1824 might well have been a brother of Richmond the Bengal Civilian.

W. MARTIN WOOD.

An Outrage on Hindu Feeling at the India Office.

I ACKNOWLEDGE that you have defended the interests of Muhammadans against Sir G. Birdwood's advocacy of a play in which their prophet is represented as committing suicide in order to condone adultery; but you have said nothing against the, at least, equally gross insult on the Hindu religion daily offered in his room, a public one in a public edifice, the India Office, supported by the taxes of the Indian public.

There is to be seen, right in the middle of the room, which is sometimes publicly open, the sacred emblem of Shiva, at which only the foolish can laugh, but the exhibition of which (not even for purposes of science as in a museum) in a Christian office is a deep offence to Hindus and an abomination to Christians and Muhammadans. Cannot Sir George keep it in his drawing-room or elsewhere in his house, and not advertise his Oriental sympathies in this shocking manner?

A BRAHMIN VISITOR.

Bombay, 14*th February*, 1891.

Bornier's Play "Mahomet."

THE following extracts from a letter by Sir George Birdwood to Nawab A'bdurrashid is an insufficient reparation to Muhammadans for advocating the above play, which *The Daily Telegraph*, in its issue of the 15th October, 1890, described as follows: "The French dramatist makes Ayesha, the Prophet's favourite wife, a follower of Christ, and bitterly opposed to her husband's new creed. She also has a lover, Safwan, whom she prefers to Mahomet—a touch of French licence which is, perhaps, inevitable in a play intended for the boulevards. At the end of the drama, Mahomet desponds; he doubts his own success; he prophesies that Christianity will live for ever, and that Islam will fall. Finally, having lost faith in his cause; in his wife, and in his followers, he commits suicide," merely in order that Ayesha may be happy with Safwan, as Mr. Hall Caine explained in the *Speaker* of the 4th October last. Sir George wrote :—

"I have read your really brilliant article in *The Asiatic Quarterly Review* with the greatest interest, and much instruction. But before I attempt to reply to it, I should be glad to be informed of the part of India from which you write, or, if you are in this country, to which you belong, as something depends on that. . . . If I reply to you, it will not be in a controversial, but rather apologetic, spirit; for I have no idea of carrying on a controversy irritating to any class of the people of India. My letter to *The Times* would never have been printed, had my letter of a fortnight previous found the address given by the Vice-President of the Liverpool Islam Society. I wrote to him, and afterwards to *The Times*, merely to have an intellectual puzzle solved, and never dreamt of the susceptibilities I was wounding."

Professor A. Weber and Dr. G. W. Leitner.

Dr. Leitner has addressed the following letters to the Editors of the *Overland*, *Homeward*, and *Allen's Indian Mail* :—

Sir,—I have only just received the original German of Professor Weber's letter to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, of which you publish a translation of three columns in your issue of the 16th instant.

Incorrect and malevolent as the letter is, your translation has emphasized both characteristics. For instance, Weber blames Landberg for bringing so "many true *Orientals*, especially from the countries of Islám"; your translator converts them into "true Orientalists, especially from the land of Islam," which is precisely what Weber does not mean; Weber says that I have "reached an important position in London"; your translator renders this into "a certain recognised status": Weber alleges that "the organizing Secretary, himself far from Oriental Science, is substantially on a practical ground in relation to it"; your translator makes it, "is only on a business footing in relation to it," and so forth.

I might as well deny that Professor Weber was an Orientalist, except in a narrow sense of the term. I am not aware that he speaks a single Oriental language, or has written a book in one. He has been mauled by Indian Pandits, and he and his school dread the presence of "true Orientals" at the Congresses of Orientalists, and of all independent enquirers who will not acknowledge either the supremacy of Sanscrit in Philology or him as the greatest authority in it. Like a famous Egyptologist, he would, I dare say, decline to visit the country of his learning, so as not to upset his convictions. I have already done a little, and I will do more, to expose the pretensions of men who know far less of the living East, and through it of its past, than many an Indian administrator that I could name. When Weber can speak a dozen Oriental languages and write works in six, he will be in a better position to criticize one who *in* the East and *with* the East has promoted Oriental learning. His misconception of my speciality, of the Hunza and other Dard languages, of my Oriental work in India and here, is as great as his reference to myself as a German or an Europeanizer of Hindus is incorrect. I will now proceed to show, as has been done before, that under a rude exterior he hides a diplomatic conscience.

On the 19th September, 1889, he praised Landberg, whom he now condemns, in the *National Zeitung*, and approvingly indicated the encroachments then in progress, to set aside our original Statutes, to establish a permanent Oligarchy of Orientalists, to minimize the attendance of Orientals, and to entrust Max Müller with framing conditions as to the admission of Members to future Congresses.

Our Declaration of the 10th October, now signed by 400 Orientalists in thirty countries, was directed against these and other usurpations on our Republic of Oriental letters, and against the shortcomings of the Scandinavian Congress; not merely, as he alleges, against the possible choice of Cairo or Constantinople for the next Meeting of the Congress. We first forced Weber and thirty of his Orientalists, who included several book sellers and licentiates, to admit the validity of the Paris Statutes; we then compelled the Christiania Committee to surrender to Sir Henry Rawlinson,

as Honorary President for a Congress to be held on the basis of the Statutes in London in 1891; we broke up the counter-movement by Müller and Landberg for a Congress at Oxford in 1892; we have, at all events nominally, induced the seceders from our midst to profess allegiance to the Paris Statutes, and to pretend that they have received their powers from the Paris founders. The intended caricature of the French "Institut" by an Institute of forty practically self-elected Oriental "immortals" is at any rate for the present abandoned; the name of Landberg is no longer openly mentioned in connection with the Christiania Committee, or as the permanent Secretary of all future International Congresses, who are to have the King of Sweden as their permanent President; even London has been chosen as the place of *their* "Ninth Congress"; to all appearances we have won all along the line; and now Weber, in his wrath at the complete discomfiture of the Christiania game, turns round on him who has mainly brought this result about, and says that he is not an Orientalist, except from a practical point of view.

If Weber were to know how much of real public spirit there exists in this country, he would not be astonished at people taking a certain course for what they believe to be the public good, irrespective of favour, prejudice, or emolument. He would learn what little store many Englishmen of merit set on decorations, the non-bestowal of which on my humble self is alleged, together with some supposed slights, to have induced me for more than a year and a half to spend time, money, and influence in furtherance of a cause. Let me tell him that I have no grudge against Landberg; that I was treated with special kindness by the King of Sweden; and that I *refused* the recommendation to a Swedish decoration, because of the circumstances of the Swedish Congress, although I had rendered services to a Swedish ethnographical mission. To Professor Weber banquets and decorations may be welcome; in an assembly of English Orientalists held on the 15th January, 1890, and then already representing 157 signatories of the Declaration of Paris in twenty odd countries, we decided "*that no special privileges, or distinctions of any kind be accepted by any member, delegate, or office-holder (as such) of the Congress, except what the Congress itself may confer for services rendered to science, or in furthering the Congress.*"

What *is* the use of contradicting Weber's other mis-statements? *I* could not be turned out by seceders on the 9th October, for we had already turned them out six weeks before. I did not arouse the feelings of "English *gentlemen*" by any "*discourtesy*" to Professors Dillmann and Kuenen, for I partly drafted the admittedly "cordial" but informal letter of the two Presidents, Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir M. E. Grant Duff, and my formal, and colder, reply was similarly approved in writing by the Presidents and the body of the signatories, then already three hundred in number. Max Müller had simply "*reculé pour mieux sauter.*" The Congress of 1892 is still the Max Müller-Landberg Congress, as stated in the Scandinavian papers, with the addition of a few more lies. Nothing is really conceded, except that London is to be their next place of meeting.

As for the Committee of 1892 representing "real" as against "practical" Orientalists, "dilettanti, travellers, fellow-officials of Leitner, etc.," I have

yet to learn that there is a single Orientalist among their Vice-Presidents. They certainly have fewer "real" Orientalists to choose from than we, who can select among 400 professional Orientalists or practical promoters of Oriental studies in thirty countries. Anyhow, the Swedish Congress, of which Weber makes so much, was largely composed of tourists, commercial travellers, local tradesmen, etc.

"The snake is scotched, not killed." The monopolists in Oriental learning, with Max Müller, are making a last and desperate stand, which must fail against the combined sense of "practical Orientalists" and of the statesmen and Governments who promote Oriental studies because of their importance to our culture and of their utility to our civilization. With personal questions or intermural quarrels neither Governments nor the public have anything to do.

Compare the programmes of the 1891 and 1892 Congresses, and choose for yourselves.*

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

G. W. Leitner,

Organizing Secretary for the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists of 1891. Delegate-General from the Founders and the French National Committee to the English and other Committees.

Woking, 24*th March*, 1891.

* The programme will be found on pages 503, 504 of this Review.

Our readers will peruse with interest the following dignified reference, in a recent Resolution by the French National Committee, to the intimidation to which German Orientalists have been subjected, not to attend the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists of London in September, 1891, and the conviction which that Committee expresses, that no Englishman will support such intimidation or interference in a British International gathering.

"Confirmant son ordre du 31 octobre 1890, il rappelle que M. le Dr Leitner avait reçu les pouvoirs nécessaires pour constituer, en Angleterre un comité d'organisation du IXe Congrès des Orientalistes : il n'a, depuis lors, donné à personne aucun pouvoir analogue et dément toutes les assertions contraires.

"Il se croit incompétent pour toutes les affaires exclusivement britanniques, les questions personnelles lui resteront étrangères ainsi que les considérations d'ordre politique intempestivement mises en avant par les organes de la presse périodique de quelques pays voisins. Il estime que c'est aux savants de chaque pays de défendre leur liberté individuelle, et sait, d'ailleurs, que toute intrusion de ce genre serait réprimée par le bon sens anglais.

"En présence de la situation actuelle, le comité français se bornera à insister sur l'opportunité de déterminer au plus tot toute cette affaire et se référant à son ordre du jour du 31 Octobre 1890, il invite de nouveau son délégué à hâter les préparatifs pour que le neuvième Congrès International des Orientalistes ait lieu à l'époque depuis longtemps fixée, c'est à-dire au mois de Septembre 1891.

"Signé : pour adoption par le Comité,

"Le Secrétaire Général,

"Madier de Montjau."

"Pour copie conforme,

"Le Secrétaire du Comité,

"Signé : L. Duilh de la Tuque."

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

ASIA.—In India, the principal event of the quarter under review has been the visit of the Czarevitch. Whether good or evil will be the outcome of his tour lies in the uncertain future. One lesson, however, he may have learnt, which may be a useful one; and that is, that in spite of the utterances of political malcontents, India is not in such a state of maladministration as to receive his countrymen with open arms. There have been evil prophets who have prophesied adversely concerning this visit, saying that it was not wise to bring the son of the great White Czar too prominently before the people; but, as far as the Muhammadans are concerned, two untoward events have led their thoughts into a channel which would hardly encourage them in any desire to substitute the Russian rule for that of the British. The first is but a little matter; but, as they say, the flight of a feather shows the direction of the wind, and it has been freely commented upon in the papers. The Nizam sent a telegram of welcome to the Czarewitch which was formally answered by one of his staff; at the same time a New Year's complimentary message to Her Majesty and the Prince of Wales met with a cordial personal response from each. This, however, might have passed off with but slight comment, had not, about the same time, the report been circulated that the new Minister of Religion in Russia had ordered the expunging of certain verses of the Koran when used within the Czar's dominions. We who know the Oriental mind, and the reverence that the Muhammadan feels for his sacred book,—far exceeding what the great majority of Christians feel for their Bible,—cannot conceive a greater political blunder; but it has done us a good turn. That one act of M. Pobïédonostzew has gone forth through the medium of the press to both Hindu and Muhammadan as an earnest of what they might expect if they ever come under the rule of the Muscovite. The National Congress proceedings

this year have fallen rather flat; the enthusiasm seems to be dying out, and the attendance showed a marked decrease as compared with previous meetings. Controversy is still rife over the Age of Consent Bill. The general feeling among the Bengalis is, that it is a direct interference with their religion, as touching a social question bound up with that religion. State legislation in such matters is, as a rule, mischievous, and contrary to Her Majesty's pledge that no such interference should take place; but the evils arising from a custom not essentially sanctioned by the sacred writings of the Hindus themselves are so grave, both in a physical as well as moral aspect, that the Government has thought it necessary to intervene, with the support of an influential minority of educated Hindus, who are of opinion that it is necessary to force by the assistance of the law the reform which is so desirable yet so difficult to attain. Pundit Rama Mitra Sastri, Professor of Sanscrit, has published a pamphlet containing a full and learned exposition of the law of Hindu marriage, in which he arrives at the conclusion that in the ordinances of Manu and Susruta the joining of her husband by a wife before the age of twelve is expressly forbidden. The Anglo-Indian papers are mostly in favour of the Bill, and the native press is divided on the subject. The native members of the Legislative Council were not unanimous on the question, which was strongly spoken against on the 9th of January by Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, but supported by Rao Bahadoor Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar. The opposition seems, as might be expected, to be strongest in Bengal; and, as is the case in other countries besides India, the resistance on religious grounds is mainly supported by the women. According to Mr. Hume, who ought to be well informed, four-fifths of the supporters of the Congress are in favour of the reform. Mr. Man Mohun Ghose found fault with the Bill, and suggested an amendment, that marriages under twelve be disallowed by a civil law, which he believes would strike at the root of the evil. In Bombay, English-speaking opinion is in favour of the Bill; and both Mr. Justice Telang and

Dr. Bhandarkar have written forcibly on the subject. The Bill has passed, because various causes, which we do not care to specify, daily added to the number of its supporters. Few now regret the interference of Government in the suppression of *Sati*, infanticide, and other customs incompatible with moral and material progress. The dissatisfaction caused by their abolition is past. Let us hope it will disappear also in this case.

The prospect of an Indian Factory Act is not considered an unmixed blessing by those who are interested in the Indian Mill industry; and with reference to Mr. Holt Hallett's letter to the *Times* on the Shift System, *Capital* remarks :—"It is very clear that the real object of these would-be humanitarians is to stop the hours of working of the mills, and not of the operatives, for whom they do not care twopence. It is the rivalry of India that they are afraid of, not the health of the children or young persons." There is a good deal of truth in this view. India is getting independent of Lancashire, and Lancashire does not like it. And as some years ago she got the cotton duties removed, so now her wish is to hamper the Indian mill-owner. Could she try on this little game with Australia? It is a significant fact, that the Age of Consent Bill, which deals with a more important matter, receives but little attention at the hands of these philanthropists. If, however, the Lancashire manufacturer thinks he will recover lost ground by a policy of hindrance, he is doomed to disappointment, for the milling industry is now firmly established in India; and it may have one very undesirable effect not yet taken into consideration, *viz.* that capitalists may establish mills in French and Portuguese territory in India, adjacent to Calcutta and Bombay, where they may work with profit even at the risk of paying certain export duties.

It is satisfactory to note improvement in railway communication in India. The mails for the South from the Punjab and Calcutta now proceed direct by the Dhond and Mauruar line, instead of *viâ* Bombay, with the result that a whole day is saved between Calcutta or Lahore and Madras.

We have now got a through service without a break from Tuticorin to Kurrachee, a distance of 3,128 miles. The route from Calcutta to Bombay by the Bengal Nagpore Railway is now open, the first through passenger being Sir Charles Crosthwaite. Indian trade with East Africa has received a serious check in the levying of a five per cent. import duty on all goods landed on German territory, whether from Zanzibar or elsewhere.

We have just finished with the Mirungai, a bloodless but expensive little campaign, to be renewed when those lively people have ceased to feel the pinch of a fine and the loss of a few towers. No one but a specialist can follow the intricacies of our relations with the Wunthas, the Lushais, the Chins, and other frontier savages. The Tsawbwa of Wuntho was one of Theebaw's officials in charge of the district; and he had been allowed by the Government of India to remain in possession of this territory. Instead of dealing with him at first with a strong hand, we treated him with honours to which he was not entitled; the result being that he availed himself of the opportunity to prepare for the outbreak, to which course he was instigated by his father, who, in King Theebaw's time was governor of Mogoung. Under Sir A. Mackenzie's vigorous administration the insurrection has been crushed, and the Wuntho territory is to be at once opened up.

As we go to press, there comes the sad announcement of the disaster to our brave Goorkha force. The Manipur question we hope to deal with exhaustively in our next issue. Here we need only say, that the details are yet too meagre and the accounts too conflicting to form a decided judgment as to who was to blame. But we cannot take the same view of it as is taken by some of the daily papers. For it is idle to talk of the treachery of the Manipuris before we know the details of the policy and proceedings which led to the attack and capture of the Resident and his party. Nor is it possible to forecast the immediate fortunes of our "little war" in or with Manipur; for our "Hill Campaigns" are

costly affairs, and may lead to anything. The proximity of Manipur to Burmah should also not be forgotten.

In Afghanistan affairs are shrouded in the usual mystery, One day we hear of unusual activity in the Cabul arsenal, of the out-turn of millions of cartridges and thousands of rifles, another day report kills off the Amir, to revive him again shortly afterwards; and I suppose we never shall know what goes on in that land of political fog, till we have a Resident there, and that will not be in Abdurrahman's time.

The *Homeward Mail's* suggestion, that the Amir should be encouraged to make his own railways in his own country, with a view to the profits of trade, is not a bad one; and the twelve lakhs per annum we give him for a doubtful return would be well spent if laid out in such a way.

The Russian *Novoe Vremya* urges, that, as the Chinese are paramount in Kashgar and the British in Kashmir, Russia should establish a protectorate over the Pamir plateau. What advantage they are likely to gain from an extension of their jurisdiction over such arid and snowy wastes it is difficult to see; but the news will not be palatable to British sportsmen, who are just beginning to find out the happy hunting-grounds of the hitherto little-known *Ovis Polii.*

The Russian explorers have not, however, met with much success lately. The brothers Gruir Grijimailo were turned back by the Chinese; and both Captain Pevtsoff's party and Captain Grombtchefsky's failed to get into Thibet. Had the Pevtsoff party, says M. Bogdanoff, the geologist of the Expedition, been supplied with more silver and less cartridges, they would have got on much better. He attributes the success of M. Bonvalot and Prince Henry to the fact that they had with them a large supply of money and few arms, and were accompanied entirely by natives. English officers are said to be energetically exploring the Pamir region between the Indo-Afghan and Russian boundaries, and putting every obstacle in the way of Russian reconnaissances; and to this the *Grashdanin* attributes Grombtchefsky's failure. It is satisfactory to know that we are doing something at last. M. Bonvalot has been reading to the

Geographical Society at St. Petersburg an account of his journey, and was applauded on advocating communications between Russian and French possessions in Asia *viâ* Thibet, without touching English or Chinese territory. *Sic itur ad astra !*

In China there has been a *contretemps*, showing that hatred of foreigners is not yet extinct in the breast of the Celestial. Notice of the visit of the Czarewitch had been given to the Viceroy of Wuchang, Chang-Chih-Tung, who received the message with marked rudeness, and refused to accord any demonstration in honour of the Imperial visitor, who, he said, must put up with things as he found them, if he chose to come. This set the wires working between St. Petersburg and Pekin, with the result that China has come down from her high pedestal and is ready to extend unprecedented honours to the Czarevitch. The *Homeward Mail*, in commenting on the incident, remarks, "If Russia has been thus firm in a point which concerned her *amour propre*, why should Great Britain have allowed herself to be put off and frustrated in the opening of the navigation of the Yang-tse River? The things that most impress the Eastern mind are resolution and force; and the country which shows those qualities at Pekin, within proper and politic lines, will be most successful in its Chinese diplomacy. At present our policy in China exhibits no signs of firmness." The present Emperor, however, seems inclined to a less conservative policy. There have been some difficulties in the way of his public reception of the Diplomatic Corps, owing to the attitude of the old school faction, and everything possible was done to minimize the importance of the function. However, it is the thin end of the wedge, and a sign that China is being forced out of its traditional seclusion. Another good sign is, that a railway is at last an established fact in the Celestial Empire. The new line, from Kaiping towards Shan Hai Kuan, is as yet only eleven miles long; but it is likely to prove a great success, as it passes through a fertile country and is already appreciated by the inhabitants. The gardeners on the Tong Shan section have not been slow to take advan-

tage of the opportunity afforded them, and send eight to ten cars of vegetables daily to the Tientsin market.

The Japanese Houses of Parliament, which cost over 2¼ million dollars, have been burnt. It is said the fire was caused by some defect in the electric lighting. Sir Edwin Arnold has returned from Japan, and appears to have been impressed by the Buddhist religion, for it is reported that he adjured the Japanese, at a dinner in Tokio, not to go hunting after other religions, as they had a very good one of their own. A Missionary Bishop was present; and the *Japan Herald* is indignant that he made no sign on the occasion.

THE COLONIES.—In the colonies, two events of supreme importance have occurred during the past quarter, viz., the Canadian elections, and the meeting of the Australasian Federation Convention at Sydney, under the presidency of Sir Henry Parkes.

Under ordinary conditions, the dissolution of a Colonial Parliament would awaken only a languid interest in England; but on this occasion Canada had arrived at a very critical stage of her history, and was called upon to practically decide either for closer union with England or for annexation to the United States, veiled under the pretence of "Unrestricted reciprocity." While the contest was pending, the English papers generally abstained from all comment on the two policies, so that they might not be suspected of wishing to influence the result, but now that Sir John Macdonald's Government have emerged triumphantly, though with a reduced majority, we may be permitted to express our satisfaction. While the contest was at its height, Sir John Macdonald created a great sensation throughout Canada by deliberately charging the Opposition leader, Sir Richard Cartwright, with a conspiracy to annex Canada to the United States. At a public meeting in Toronto, he read a document prepared by Mr. Farrer, the editor of the *Toronto Globe*, containing suggestions to the American Government how best to injure Canadian trade, and thus force Canada into seeking admission into the Union. The reading of this

document created immense excitement and indignation, the audience standing and singing the National Anthem. The Opposition leaders have not questioned the accuracy of this document; and there is every reason to believe that this move rallied thousands of voters to the side of the Government, for the Canadians are thoroughly loyal, and intensely proud of the great Empire to which they belong. As this is the first time that the direct issue of annexation has been raised, Englishmen may well feel generally satisfied with the manner in which the Canadians have proved their loyalty to the British connection.

Canada will doubtless be pleased to see that there is some prospect of the Behring Sea difficulty being settled, as Lord Salisbury has agreed to Mr. Blaine's proposal to submit the question to arbitration; and although our past experience of arbitration, notably in the Alabama case, has not been encouraging, yet we may confidently hope that the arbitrators may be able to arrive at a settlement of this question satisfactory to both nations.

Newfoundlanders have been greatly excited by the refusal of the Colonial Office to sanction the Commercial Treaty provisionally concluded by them with the United States. But they may rest assured that their interests will not be neglected. It is the duty of the Colonial Office to consider the interests of all the colonies; and we feel confident that their irritation will soon pass away when they recognise this fact. Possibly the best solution of the difficulty would be, to unite with Canada in concluding a fresh Treaty.

From Paris we learn that an agreement between England and France for the settlement of the Newfoundland Fisheries Question by arbitration has been signed; and we trust that this gratifying intelligence will be as pleasing to our colonists in Newfoundland as to ourselves. We hope that this long-standing dispute will be settled in a manner equally satisfactory to all parties.

In New Zealand they have also had a General Election; and the result very closely resembled that in the United States recently. The Government was completely defeated,

much to the surprise of all—even of their opponents, whose most sanguine anticipations did not go beyond a reduction of the Government majority. This altogether unexpected result was almost entirely brought about by the "labour" vote. Out of seventy-five members, twenty-two have been returned as "labour representatives," mostly for city and suburban constituencies, where "Demos" is supreme; but the one bitter pill in so much sweetness is the defeat of the strike leader at Port Chalmers by the managing director of the Union Steamship Company.

On the Australian Continent, with the exception of one or two isolated outbreaks among the shearers in Queensland, trades-unionism has been much less aggressive since the great strike terminated so disastrously for them; and it is to be hoped that the severe lesson taught to the Australian strikers will be taken note of by those who are so often the dupes of selfish and interested agitators in England.

The Australasian Federation Convention, which met at Sydney on March 2nd, is still engaged in discussing the various resolutions submitted to it by its President, Sir Henry Parkes, who is the oldest and most experienced statesman in the Australian Colonies.

The Convention is the outcome of the Federal Council; and the present advanced position of Federation is due to the initiative of Sir Henry Parkes, although due credit must be given to Mr. James Service of Victoria, and Sir Samuel Griffith of Queensland, to whose patriotic exertions it was mainly due that the Federal Council of Australasia was formed in 1883.

The resolutions submitted to the Convention are four in number. "1. That the powers, privileges, and territorial rights of the several existing Colonies shall remain intact, except in respect to such surrenders as may be agreed upon as necessary and incidental to the power and authority of the National Federal Government. 2. That trade and intercourse between the Federated Colonies, whether by means of land carriage or coastal navigation, be absolutely free. 3. That power and authority to

impose Customs duties be exclusively lodged with the Federal Government and Parliament, subject to such disposal of the revenues thence derived as shall be agreed upon. 4. That the military and naval defence of Australia be entrusted to the Federal forces under one command."

Sir Henry Parkes, in his speech upon these Resolutions, was careful to explain that he did not submit them as "embodying principles to be rigidly adhered to, but as a groundwork for debate on the whole question." Whatever may be the outcome of this Convention, the Colonies may be assured of the warm sympathy of Englishmen in general; as it is apparent from the speeches already delivered, that the Australians, as a whole, are thoroughly loyal to the Crown, and have no wish to set up as an independent nation. It was uncertain at first whether any delegates would attend on behalf of New Zealand, as that Colony was afraid that by Federation, the Australians meant separation as well; but the New Zealand delegates are in attendance, and their fears have been shown to be unfounded. The first and fourth Resolutions have been generally agreed to. The greatest difference of opinion has arisen over the second and third, owing to the different tariffs in force in Australia, some of the Colonies being rigidly Protectionist, while others are almost Free-traders; but there is a general feeling in favour of trade between the Colonies being free, while, as against the outside world, the question of the levy of Customs duties would be left for the Federal Parliament to settle.

Before the Convention met, many of the warmest friends of Australasian Federation were afraid that the mutual jealousies of the Colonies would prevent their coming to an agreement over the question of Intercolonial Free Trade. Some of the Colonies raise the greater part of their revenue from Customs duties; and there was an uneasy feeling that by assenting to the abolition of these duties, as against other Colonies, they would have to make large sacrifices of revenue. But a commercial statistician in Victoria has calculated that, by surrendering these duties, the amount involved, for all the Australian Colonies, would

be less than £400,000. However that may be, the representatives of the Protectionist Colonies have wisely consented to leave their case in the hands of the Federal Parliament; and thus one great danger to the cause of Australasian Federation has been averted, through the patriotism and conciliatory spirit shown by the delegates.

Great difference of opinion has also arisen over the proposal to establish a Federal Supreme Court as a High Court of Appeal in Australia, whose decisions should be final. This would abolish the right of appeal to the Privy Council; and some of the delegates have expressed themselves averse to the proposal, as they deprecate any weakening of the ties which bind Australia to the Mother Country.

Sir George Grey, a New Zealand delegate, who has been once Governor, and afterwards Premier, and whose great colonial experience gives his opinions much weight, expressed himself in favour of allowing the people to reform the Federal Constitution whenever they desired and circumstances seemed to require; so that it would be gradually developed, as our own Constitution has been. Much may be said in favour of this proposal; but, on the other hand, it leaves an opening for an ambitious minister to go outside the lines of the Constitution in order to retain his hold on office, of which we have had examples in England. He was defeated by 35 votes against only 3, in his proposal that the Governor-General should be elected by the people. A High Court of Appeal is created, but with a reservation of appeal to the Queen in Council. Thus the Crown will still exercise its rights and powers, as heretofore.

The Convention has not yet concluded its labours; but it has already done enough to justify the hope that it will not separate until it has formulated a scheme of Federation acceptable to all the Colonies of Australasia, which may eventually pave the way for the federation of the whole Empire: a subject on which Principal M. H. Hervey, of New South Wales, contributed an able and interesting article in our last number. All Englishmen who have the interest of the Empire at heart cordially wish success to the undertaking.

The persecution which ever accompanies new discoveries on an old field has so affected one of our most eminent Arabian explorers, at whose marvellous collection of inscriptions envy will not even look, much less museums buy, that he has sent a letter to his colleagues, bidding good-bye to all European and Christian friendships, for a life among Muhammadans as one of them. As the step may be dictated by disappointment rather than conviction, we forbear mentioning the name of the scholar in question.

The Emperor of Russia is only affected by what he deems to be the good of his country, and that seems to him to be identified with the Russianization of Lutherans, Fins, Poles, Muhammadans, and Jews; the latter no longer receive from thirty to forty roubles to become Christians, a measure which has hitherto failed to cure their stubbornness, for even the children, if not the children's children, of baptized Jews are, by the last orders, to remain under the same disabilities as their unconverted progenitors. The cause of Pan-slavism in Slavonic countries generally, not to speak of the financial credit and public reputation of Russia, suffers by the measures to Russianize everything, including the Korán.

In 1883, the Countess de Gasparin, an "EVANGELICAL" of undoubted devotion, published her comments on the organization of General Booth, which, by extracts taken from the instructions to the officers of the Salvation Army, she showed was far more detrimental to true Christianity and public morality than any other organization that abdicated the individual will in the obedience due to an ecclesiastical superior. It is, however, clear from a perusal of the Salvationist pamphlets, and from an intercourse with its soldiers, that, outwardly at all events, decency, if not orthodox Christianity, is promoted by the Army, fanaticism and a sense of spiritual superiority taking the place of tobacco and drink. The saving thus effected may fitly go into the coffers of this more than self-supporting body, in which even matrimony is doubly sanctified by the dedication of wife and child to the cause of the Army. Whether the money is in the Bank of England, or the labour, including the sale of the publications of General Booth, is for a society that no longer exists, or with trustees that have not yet been created, are matters of indifference to those who have saved, what is more precious, their souls; and we look forward to great progress in what, like many superstitions, may have begun in deception, but may become respectable by the lapse of time and the sincerity of followers. It is when applied to "ALL THE WORLD" (the title of one of the Salvation periodicals) that we doubt the expediency of entrusting General Booth with universal financial and spiritual command. To India, the rhapsodies of his "In Darkest England," blackened by the improper and incorrect statement on page 50, regarding a certain evil as a remunerative profession, are altogether inexplicable. There the family supports itself, and does not require shelters at 4*d.* a night or tea at a halfpenny a cup. The whole thing will collapse, if such foolish missions are undertaken. Why does not General Booth, as indeed other proselytising bodies also might, send out missionaries to Muhammadan, Hindu, Buddhistic, Confucian, and other communities, in order to learn and bring back to us whatever may be *good* in their religion or social or educational arrangements and suitable to our own condition? They would then gain far more influence for our own religion than now, when they act as mere destroyers of what exists elsewhere. By one of the vows imposed on a Tibetan Lama one is not to think, much less to say, that one's religion is better than that of others, lest their merit in doing good actions under their religious motives be depreciated. Yet we find even General Booth going to teach, rather than be taught by, heathens, and allowing himself to be referred to in his tracts as a prophet, if not redeemer, and Mrs. Booth as the mother of the Salvation Army; thus perhaps gradually creating a legend, which will greatly affect the Christianity, as it may the pockets, of his believers.

At a lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society, Professor Max Müller, with a serene disdain for all Oriental studies which are not comprised in his own limited knowledge of Sanskrit, found that an Egyptian analogue of the story of Potiphar's wife appropriately illustrated the nature and value of Oriental learning. Antiquity is really with us, the modern age, as Pascal remarked before him; and even the above story may be possible in present ancient England. [This is wit.] Manuscripts, in which the lying hand can

write, form, if from contemporaries, the basis of *authentic* history, as contrasted with the more fallacious *constructive* history given by monuments or the traditions of never-dying customs. Thus poor Sayce is constructive, Assyriology is nowhere, and Sinology a tolerated branch of Orientalism, which cannot affect European thought; whereas we believe that Chinese practical wisdom has greater lessons for us than perhaps even Sanskrit, as read by Professor Max Müller. In the play of words, that the ancient ages are really the young ages of mankind, the accumulated experience of antiquity, which alone causes the veneration for it, is forgotten, and Max Müller creates his own antiquity out of his partial experience; and the English listener is persuaded by him that in his English he speaks the best Sanskrit, and that his superficial thought is the highest result of the world's culture for 6,000 years.

> "As the world were now but to begin,
> Antiquity forgot, custom unknown."

It is not thus that Oriental studies are advanced or respect for them instilled. An English audience, after all, should be instructed, not flattered to the top of its bent, by a professorial authority on Oriental philology. As we stated in our last issue, "It is thus that a great Orientalist of this country, who cannot speak a single Oriental language, has popularized philology, which he found untaught and which he will leave mistaught, unless he raises his audiences to such knowledge as he may progressively acquire, and does not descend to their prejudices and preconceptions for the sake of personal ambition and an evanescent popularity." Professor Max Müller may or may not know Sanskrit, except at second hand; Pandit Rikhi Kêsh is attending to that subject: he certainly stood rapt in wonderment at an elementary solution of the "d" and "th" in "dead" and "death," but he certainly does not know India, or else he would not have divided modern Indian progress as he did at Christiania by the periods of Rommohun Roy, Nathaniel and Ramabai; he *does*, however, know English and what suits an English audience, an English newspaper, and an English advertisement.

Ab uno disce omnes. The pseudo-Orientalists, who have imposed themselves as authorities on the credulous British public, could only find impertinent or stupid equivalents for "Empress of India," and are therefore ready to slaughter the one who invented and carried into popular acceptance the title of "Kaisar-i-Hind," which he advocated for reasons that are the very opposite of those somewhat superficially given by Sir William Muir, when merely officially adopting a designation that Muhammadan and Hindu sense alike had already felt to be the only possible correct term. Another band of so-called Orientalists eulogized and supported with their signatures a rendering of the "National Anthem" into Hindustani, at a cost of several thousand pounds, which was disrespectful to Her Majesty, when the writer of these lines, for fifty rupees, obtained a competition of numerous elegant, correct, and loyal versions.

Mr. G. Washington Moon has set a new monument to his judgment, indefatigability, and correct style in "Men and Women of the Time," a volume of over 1000 royal octavo pages, which has just reached us as we are printing off. We propose to review it in our next issue; in the meanwhile, we are glad to have an opportunity of republishing from it the short biography of one who, with the experience and learning of age, combines the energy and public spirit of English manhood. We refer to Sir Patrick Colquhoun, the death of whose brother, Chevalier James Colquhoun, at Cannes, recently misled some of the "Dailies" into writing an Obituary of one, who, as a Jurist, a Linguist, and a Classical Scholar, has few, if any, equals in this country, and who, we hope, may long be spared to his friends and to those of English and Oriental research:—

"COLQUHOUN, *Sir Patrick* (*MacChombaich de*), Bart., LL.D., eldest son of the late Chevalier James de Colquhoun, who was private secretary to Mr. Dundas, and afterwards chargé d'affaires of the Hanseatic republics, was born in 1815, educated at Westminster, and became Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1837 and M.A. in 1844, and was elected subsequently an Honorary Fellow of the College, taking the degree of Juris utriusque Doctor at Heidelberg, and subsequently that of LL.D. at Cambridge in 1851. He was called to the Bar in 1838, and was appointed Plenipotentiary by the Hanseatic republics to conclude commercial treaties with Turkey,

Persia, and Greece. On his return in 1844, he went the Home Circuit. He was appointed Aulic Councillor to the King of Saxony in 1857, and was standing counsel to H.S.M's. Legation till the abolition of the office by the war of 1866. He was also Councillor of Legation of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg. He was appointed Member of the Supreme Council of Justice of the Ionian Islands, by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton in 1858, became Chief Justice of the Court in 1861, and was knighted. On the cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece, in 1864, Sir P. Colquhoun returned to England, and was appointed one of Her Majesty's Counsel in 1868, and a Member of the Inner Temple Bench. He is the author of various treatises on learned, political, and classical subjects in different languages. 'A Summary of the Roman Civil Law, illustrated by Commentaries and Parallels from the Mosaic, Canon, Mohammedan, English, and Foreign Laws,' published in 1849 60. Sir Patrick de Colquhoun is at present head of the family whose name he bears, having succeeded his cousin, Sir Robert de Colquhoun, Bart., N.S., on Nov. 10, 1870. Sir Patrick has received the following decorations:—First class in brilliants, Niskau Iftihar of the Ottoman Empire; G. C. of the Redeemer of Greece; Com. of Albertus Valorosus, and Knight of Merit of the Kingdom of Saxony; Knight of Merit of the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg. Clubs: Carlton, Athenæum, Constitutional, Isthmian."

REVIEWS.

The Development of Africa (*George Philip & Son, London*), of which we gave a short notice in our last issue, is a valuable work from the pen of Arthur Silva White, the Secretary of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, supplemented by fourteen maps, with notes by E. G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S. It is a veritable mine of carefully collected, diligently digested, and well-written information on the Dark Continent; and as a handbook leaves little to be desired. The physical, topographical, and commercial geography of Africa; its peoples and religions; its resources and population; its political distribution and its probable future, are all treated fully and ably. The author has a full grasp of his subject, and shows it in all its various aspects. In the history of African explorations some injustice seems done to the earlier Portuguese missionaries, who appear to have known both the dwarfs of the Aruwimi and the great equatorial lakes; but the reports of those Stanleys of former ages, still hidden in the archives of Lisbon and Rome, are not yet accessible to the students of African history. Mr. White's chapter on the relative operations and success of Islam and Christianity is fair, truthful, and worthy of careful perusal, though it contains much that the frequenters of Exeter Hall in May will find unpalatable. The picture presented of the effects of the African climate on Europeans is not promising for intending colonists; but it is better that they should know the best and the worst regarding the continent in plain words. A final summary condenses the whole volume into a chapter; and a copious index renders this mass of information easily accessible. To all who are interested in Africa, the work will be not only useful but almost indispensable; for it presents in one thick volume in imperial octavo, what would otherwise need many books and much time to get at.

The fourteen maps, and the notes on them, by Mr. Ravenstein, enhance the value of the work. They are all on pre-

cisely the same scale; but each one takes up the continent under a different aspect—political, philological, ethnographical, etc.—and shows at a glance the result of the latest researches.

We feel inclined to question the total of the population of Africa (p. 86), which is given at 127,038,370, though usually estimated at nearly 200,000,000. When we find "Equatorial and South Africa" numbered at 41,818,170, the minuteness of the last three figures of this number shows conclusively how largely all such calculations are simple guess-work. But perhaps, even in this guessing, the total given in this book has at least as good a claim to being correct as any other.

The Historical Geography of Asia Minor. By Professor W. M. Ramsay. Royal Geographical Society Supplementary Papers, Vol. IV. (*London: John Murray.*)

We congratulate both Professor Ramsay, who has after years of labour accomplished, and the Royal Geographical Society which has published, this great work on the topography of Asia Minor. Much had lately been done to elucidate this subject, and great authors had already written upon it; but Professor Ramsay has cast new light on it, almost equivalent to a revelation. Now that it has been done, it seems strange that his simple but laborious plan of consulting side by side with the already used authorities, the list of signatories at Councils, the Lives of the Saints, and other Byzantine and Christian records, was not followed before. The results are very satisfactory. Most difficulties have been cleared, doubts dispelled, and guesses confirmed by subsequent proof. Yet excellent though his plan is, it could not have produced the fruit we have before us in this work, were it not for the close study of antiquity, the complete mastery of his subject, the singular opportunities for personal exploration, and the instinctive grasp of the local circumstances and contours of country, which Professor Ramsay has brought to the task. Every place of importance, almost every village mentioned in history, has been discussed and localized, with more or less certainty. As an

instance, see p. 364, for the position of Prakana-Diocæsarcia. It is no detraction from the completeness of Professor Ramsay's work to say, that till a complete scientific survey of Asia Minor has been made, which unfortunately is still in the dim future, many points, though made more or less probable by him, can scarcely be set definitely at rest; for distances cannot be taken as conclusive when measured in actual paces or the time of walking of a horse. The numerous ruins and tumuli met by the Professor in his personal explorations and mentioned to him by others, seem to promise interesting results to those who are blessed with the leisure and means for organizing a systematic exploration of the country, which Professor Ramsay's book and the maps which accompany it so strikingly illustrate.

The Golden Bough, a Study in Comparative Religion. By J. G. Frazer, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In 2 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co.)

To read this book is a pleasure; and we gladly recommend it to all who can appreciate the results of laborious research and deep thought, by a competent scholar. The author's intimate acquaintance with the classical writers of Greece and Rome does not shine more clearly in these two volumes than his wide reading in Ethnography and Folklore; and both these qualifications are equalled by the care manifested in his selections, the judgment displayed in his deductions, and the ingenuity shown in his conclusions. The problem he set himself to solve is the meaning of the mysterious Priest of Aricia, in the olden Roman days, who has hitherto been, to all, an incomprehensible puzzle. His sovereignty acquired by the murder of his predecessor, and his anxious life of continual vigilance amid the woods of the lovely Lake of Nemi, till he was himself slain by a more cunning and powerful aspirant to his office, who before doing so had to pluck "The Golden Bough," were the only factors for solving the problem. To this our author has sought a clue in the traditional customs common to the

Aryan and other races; and for this end, he has laboriously collected from the manners, observances, and folk-lore of all nations, the indications which can only there be found, of the earliest forms of human thought and worship. In each division of his subject, he literally takes us from China to Peru, and through almost every country of the globe. All are equally compelled by him to yield their contributions; and this great store of knowledge he has arranged in lucid order, connected with skilful ingenuity, and reasoned on with great force. Where he has found a gap in the evidence, he has filled it with a reasonable supposition. The modesty with which he puts forth his views is not greater than the care with which he confines himself strictly to the field of his investigation, though the similarity between many of the rites which he details, with things mentioned in the Bible, must have presented strong temptations to dealing with collateral issues. Commentators on Scripture would do well to seek such illustrations. How through the May, Midsummer, and Harvest customs, formerly and yet existing in most countries, he follows his hitherto untried clue, to the existence in prehistoric times of a belief in corn- and tree-spirits, and the human representatives of the same; and how the treatment of these, in turn, furnishes a rational and probable solution to the mystery of the Priest-king of the Nemi woods, we must leave our readers to enjoy in Mr. Frazer's interesting book. Not only is his subject a fresh one, but his treatment is new, his matter both well chosen and digested, and his style clear; and the interest of his investigation is maintained undiminished to the end. If none would write but those who had stored their minds and mastered their matter as thoroughly as Mr. Frazer, books, if fewer in number, would be both pleasant and instructive to read, and useful to keep.

Face to Face with the Mexicans. By Mrs. Fanny Chambers Gooch. (London: Samson Low & Co.)

Mrs. Fanny Chambers Gooch's "Face to Face with the

Mexicans," is presented to us in a well-got-up and profusely illustrated quarto. It is a lively, graphic, and agreeable description of the people of Mexico and their character and customs, with sketches of their history and of some of their political personages. It is the result of a seven years' residence in the country by the author, an American lady, who has used her opportunities to produce a very readable and enjoyable book, written in a chatty and familiar style. The Mexicans have evidently won on her, for she is generally almost panegyristic; and her descriptions present in a very favourable view a people little known and less appreciated by Englishmen. In her playful banter of the Mexicans' attachment to custom, she seems quite oblivious to the fact that her own persistent attempts to Americanize her Mexican household seem just as ludicrous an attachment to her own customs as theirs. Her persistence, however, failed to change the people's ideas. While, however, she enables us to form a vivid picture of the social and domestic life and the manners and character of the Mexicans, she is by no means a guide to be followed blindly in all other matters. She speaks, for instance, of the *Gothic* Cathedral of Mexico, even while presenting us with a fine illustration of the building, which, whether you choose to call it Renaissance or Classical, is certainly not Gothic in style. The two hundred illustrations which enrich this pleasant volume are well executed, very varied, and highly interesting; and they include two splendidly coloured representations of the flowers called "The Little Hand" and the "Christmas Flower."

SHORT NOTICES.

"Geography of the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland," by the Rev. W. Parr Cresswell, M.A., F.R.C.I., with ten maps, is a most useful and opportune issue from the Clarendon Press at Oxford. It is an elaborate and carefully written treatise on Canadian Geography, in ten chapters. Of these, one treats of the Dominion in general; the

next eight deal with each of the several provinces, including Newfoundland; and the last is devoted to industries, wealth, and social progress, and forms nearly a third of the volume. Fourteen short appendices on various matters, from the naming of Louisiana to the fish and fisheries of British Columbia, and a copious alphabetical index complete a small octavo volume of detailed information, down to 1890, on Canada: its physical features, its population, its system of government, its municipal, educational, postal, and other departmental arrangements. This book, published under the auspices of the Royal Colonial Institute, will be most helpful to all who intend going to Canada, or who seek information regarding that important gem in the Imperial Crown of Great Britain.

Messrs. Ward, Lock & Co., in a volume of their Minerva Library series, furnish a welcome addition to ordinary libraries in Mr. Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus," "Heroes and Hero Worship," and "Past and Present." An illustrated critical Introduction is given to these—the three best-known perhaps of the author's works.

"Learned Men's English: the Revisers," by G. Washington Moon, Hon. F.R.S.L. (George Routledge & Sons, Limited), comprises in one volume the author's two books of criticisms on the Revisers respectively of the New and Old Testaments. The Revision is now an accomplished fact, which cannot be undone; nor is it likely to be re-done; but, those who wish to find fault with an edition of the Bible, from which much was expected but little has resulted, will find some good materials at hand in this work. Many of the faults here noted are only too real, though some may be mere hyper-criticisms. The whole book is written mostly in epistolary style.

"The Drama of Empire," by W. Marsham Adams, B.A. (Kegan Paul & Co., Ld.), is a pretentious work, the promise of whose opening pages is not at all fulfilled. It is a disconnected series of assertions and suppositions, with an entire absence of proof. Central Africa is made the site of

Paradise, and Egypt the cradle of the human race; Enoch is identified with "anok," the Coptic first personal pronoun; Jason's expedition is traced, through Argo and the Ark, to a small island near Meroe in Egypt; Canaan is developed into C'hina, and thence China. These are but a few specimens of what a well-read and clever writer can descend to, when trying laboriously to make his preconceived theory fit in with facts and documents which really oppose it. What, too, is the major axis of a square pyramid?

Messrs. George Philip & Sons, London and Liverpool, are issuing a series of well-got-up and extremely accurate "Companion Maps for Tourists and Travellers," 28 inches by 22. The last numbers to hand—"Russia in Asia," and "Central Asia," "Burmah," "North sheet of India," "Persia"—are fully equal to those already issued. The two last may need some alterations, from the newly published map of the Boundary Commission. The maps are in handy form, with rounded corners, strong cloth mounting and covers, very portable and durable, and have a copious alphabetical index of places.

In "English Vegetables and Flowers in India and Ceylon," by Donald McDonald, Associate of the Royal Horticultural Society (John Haddon & Co.), the amateur gardener in the East will find much useful practical instruction for the production of requisites for the kitchen and drawing-room. India, for this purpose, is divided into Northern, Central, and Southern, with an addendum for the Hills; but this arrangement seems to us somewhat deficient, as it leaves out the extreme North and the sub-Himalayan districts, which require special treatment. On the whole, this little work will be of service to Europeans, in whiling away a portion of the time of their exile, in a healthy and pleasant occupation for their leisure hours.

We have received from Messrs. Luzac & Co. a Sanskrit monthly entitled "Úsha." It contains extracts from the Vedas, with careful explanations intended for students.

"The India List, Civil and Military," for 1891, just

received from Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., London, we find, as usual, full and exact, up to date.

It is scarcely necessary to speak in praise of so well-known a work as Webster's Unabridged Dictionary; but Messrs. G. Bell & Son, London, furnish us with a new and improved edition which we can recommend as a most useful English Dictionary for the desk.

"Hadasseh; or, From Captivity to the Persian Throne." By E. Leuty Collins (London: T. Fisher Unwin). This is the Apocryphal Book of Esther, in the form of a novel. Such a work is foredoomed to failure, even in the hands of a master—much more, as in the present case, in those of one who is not master of even the elements of English. The number of grammatical mistakes is abnormal, in even these days of slip-shod English; and words are often used to express what no dictionary gives as their sense. Those who pick up this book to while away an hour will throw it down in disgust before a quarter of that time.

Those who know little about India, and are not fastidious as to the accuracy of their information, will find some pleasant reading in "India Past and Present, Historical, Social, and Political," by James Samuelson (London: Trübner & Co.) It consists of a series of essays rather than chapters on various aspects of India, written by that most fallible of earthly guides, a Tourist who does not even know that he does not know a country and cannot be an authority on it by simply "doing" it in a more or less hurried journey. It would be as tiresome as useless to point out all the errors in the work. There is a foul libel,—a general accusation of systematic extortion,—against District Officers, at p. 104, which the high character of the Indian Civil Service should have prevented even a Tourist from being deluded into. There is a slander against Noor Jehan at pages 92 and 93, which neither history nor tradition justifies. There are very peculiar views expressed about Ethnology, the position of woman in the East, and other matters in which the author can scarcely claim to be a

sufficient guide. The flippant tone of his remarks in dealing with the religions of India is not pleasant reading. The so-called National Congress has a chapter to itself; but we are not given the all-important information, by whom those "1248 delegates" had been delegated, and who commissioned them to speak in the name of the "Nation."

"The Life of Ferdinand Magellan" (London: George Philip & Son), by F. H. H. Guillemard, M.A., M.D., continues the series of The World's Great Explorers. It furnishes us with a very full and interesting biography of one of the most daring of Explorers and one of the most perfect characters in history, who has received as little recognition in after years as he did in his own days. The author has discharged his duty with great care and a full grasp of both the man and the circumstances of those days of gigantic enterprise. The book, in addition to seventeen illustrations, is enriched with sixteen maps, ancient and modern.

Senhor Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho publishes "A Lunda" etc. (Lisbon · Adolfo, Modesto & Ca.) a number of documents to prove that Portugal has, and has had continually acknowledged, a right of sovereignty over the territory of Lunda and Muatianvua (Muta Yamvo), in Western Africa, near Angola, as against the claim made to those States by the Congo Free State. Senhor Carvalho seems to us to prove his point, as a matter of fact, up to and for some time after the Conference held at Berlin. But on the other hand, *L'Indépendance Belge* declares that the treaty between Portugal and the International African Association, of the 14th February, 1885, fixed the course of the Kouango River as the boundary between the Portuguese and the Free State of the Congo. If this be so, which Senhor Carvalho does not deny, then Portuguese diplomacy was caught napping, and has by that treaty yielded its former rights; and further diplomatic action must be taken by the two parties concerned to define the just limits of the two States. Matters are further complicated by the fact that the Portuguese have exercised their

rights of sovereignty even after the date of the treaty on which the Congo Free State bases its claim; but the latter may offer the obvious explanation, that it was not in a position to take actual possession at once of the ceded district, which however it at once organized as the twelfth district of the Free State, and named "Kouango Oriental."

"Outlines of Ancient Egyptian History," by Auguste Mariette Bey, translated and edited with notes by M. Brodrick (Gilbert and Rivington). This book is a well-written translation of Mariette's Aperçu, a little condensed in parts and with a few additions in the way of notes necessitated by the recent progress of events. Notice is also taken, by the translator and editor, of the discovery of the royal mummies at Deir-El-Bahari. The author may be congratulated on having made an important work accessible to a large class of English and American readers by an unstrained translation written in an easy style.

We have received from The Theosophical Publishing Society "Nature's Finer Forces," by Rama Prasad, M.A., "The Yoga-Sutra of Patanjali," and a little book entitled "Gems from the East," being a Birthday Book of the T. S. The first-named work consists of a number of ably written essays, with translations from the Sanskrit of "The Science of Breath and the Philosophy of the Tatwas." It first deals with the Tatwas; and the theories —or truths (?)—enunciated, cannot fail to be of the deepest interest to all "thinking" men. Those especially who study the modern development of physical science without becoming narrow-minded, self-sufficient, and dictatorial in proportion to their reading, will find a special interest in the book, as they will discover, fully developed, in these extracts from the "physicists" and "scientists" of old, many of the most recent scientific speculations or foreshadowings. The Yoga-Sutra of Pantajali is translated and commentated by Manital Nabhubhai Dvivedi; and it is a very suggestive book indeed, especially as excellent notes and full explanations follow every aphorism with unvarying

regularity. Knowledge acquired through translations, is, of course, not so reliable as that derived directly from the fountain head; but every one cannot learn Sanskrit, and translations of the kind before us are of inestimable advantage. We advisedly say "*kind*," because there is another —an unkind—way of translating "the sacred books of the East," by interpretations evolved entirely from what may be called "the inner consciousness" of some learned Professors, based upon badly translated fragments gathered at random from the ruins of what their own sacrilegious hands have destroyed. We recommend the book to all students of philosophy, of whatever school, who are accustomed to look beyond mere literal and external meanings. The introductory remarks of Professor Dvivedi too are by no means the least interesting part of the work. The "Gems from the East," compiled by H. P. B. and illustrated by F. W., would be a Birthday present no less acceptable to people of culture generally, than to members of the Theosophical Society; and the contents, of "Eastern Precepts and Axioms," fully justify the title.

We acknowledge with thanks Dr. Hermann Ziemer's well-known "Jahresbericht" (Calvary, Under den Linden, Berlin); "Le Régime Patriarcal," by Victor Dingelstedt (E. Thorin, Rue de Médicis, Paris), which we hope to notice in our next; "La Science [illegible] la Robe [illegible]," a cleverly written book on the Christiania-Stockholm Congress [illegible] or debauch by a well-known Orientalist who was there (E. J. Brill, Leyden); "Through Gaza Land," by P. Gillmore (Harrison & Son, St. Martin's Lane, London), which seems an interesting book of travel and adventure; "A Catalogue of the Japanese Paintings, etc, in the Burty Collection" (E. Leroux, Rue Bonaparte, Paris); "Statuts des Juifs D'Avignon," by Isidore Loeb (Cerf et Fils, Versailles), and a most interesting little book by the same author, "Le Juif de l'Histoire et le Juif de la Légende"; "Science of Ethics: its Nature and Source," by Prof. M. N. Chatterjee (Tribune Press, Lahore); the latest issues of the "Polybiblion, Revue Bibliographique Universelle (2 & 5, Rue Saint-Simon. Paris), which is one of those *thesauri* of information that can be found only in France; a similarly valuable work, the "Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-[illegible]oise de France" (E. Leroux, Rue Bonaparte, Paris); and last, but by no means least, an important work, "Sculptures et Inscriptions de Palmyre," by D. Simonsen (Th. Lind, Copenhagen).